Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-071
Wednesday
13 April 1994

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-071 *13 April 1994*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.
An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

ALBANIA

Government Orders Greek Consul To Leave *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Foreign Ministry Recalls Envoy to Greece *[Tirana TV]* 1
Berisha, Officials Condemn Greek 'Massacre' *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Assembly Unanimously Condemns 'Criminal Act' *[Tirana TV]* 2

BULGARIA

Foreign Ministry Statement on NATO Strikes *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Berov 'in Quarantine'; Hepatitis Possible *[Sofia Radio]* 3
SDS Discusses Proposing No-Confidence Vote *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Tomov Criticizes Zhelev's London Statements *[TRUD 5 Apr]* 3
Commentary Compares Army Cuts to Stalin Purges *[KONTINENT 6 Apr]* 5

CZECH REPUBLIC

Skoda Dismantles Nuclear Research Reactor *[RUDE PRAVO 1 Apr]* 6
Firearms Thefts Increasing; Ministry Drafts Law *[LIDOVE NOVINY 1 Apr]* 6
Three Tiers To Be Eliminated From Army *[DENNI TELEGRAF 31 Mar]* 6

SLOVAKIA

Reportage on Official Visit of Strobe Talbott 7
Commentary Previews Talks *[REPUBLIKA 9 Apr]* 7
President Receives Talbott *[Bratislava Radio]* 7
No Intention of Filing Formal EU Application *[SLOVENSKY DENNIK 9 Apr]* 7
Highlights of Government Policy Statement *[Bratislava Radio]* 8
Hungarian Leaders View Ties to Government *[SME 5 Apr]* 10
Kukan: Ties to Hungary Focus on Border Issue *[Bratislava TV]* 12
President Recalls Statistical Office Chief Krc *[REPUBLIKA 9 Apr]* 12
Replaced by Stefan Condik *[REPUBLIKA 9 Apr]* 12
New National Property Fund Presidium Elected *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 7 Apr]* 12
Army Compared to Hungarian Counterpart *[SLOVENSKY DENNIK 8 Apr]* 13
SNF Calls For 'Voluntary' Armed Units *[SME 8 Apr]* 13

HUNGARY

Party Leaders Discuss Election Issues *[MAGYAR NEMZET 9 Apr]* 14
Surjan Views Prospects of Christian Democrats *[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG 9 Apr]* 15
Poll Measures Unpopularity of Parties *[NEPSZABADSAG 3 Apr]* 16
Acquisition of Russian Military Gear Discussed *[NEPSZABADSAG 9 Apr]* 17
Reasons for NATO Strikes in B-H Examined *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 12 Apr]* 17
Editorial Views Activity of NATO AWACS *[NEPSZABADSAG 12 Apr]* 18
Official on Trade With Former CEMA Countries *[FIGYELO 7 Apr]* 18

POLAND

Oleksy Questions NATO Air Strikes *[Tokyo KYODO]* 21
Coalition-Walesa Dispute Over Rosati Continues *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 12 Apr]* 21
Rapport Between Walesa, Right Wing Viewed *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 12 Apr]* 22

Walesa's Fight To Regain Former Electorate *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 12 Apr]* 23
Walesa Spokesman on Budget Law, Local Elections *[PAP]* 24
Walesa Signs Budget Law *[Warsaw Radio]* 24
SLD: No Need To Postpone Local Elections *[Warsaw Radio]* 25
Tasks for New Committee of Defense Affairs *[Warsaw Radio]* 25

ROMANIA

Moldovan Ratification of CIS Documents Noted *[Bucharest Radio]* 26
Deputies Want To Reaffirm Right to Bessarabia *[Bucharest Radio]* 26
Moldova's Sangheli Disputes 'Disinterested Aid' *[ROMANIA LIBERA 9 Apr]* 26
Danger of Moscow's Renewed Influence Examined *[COTIDIANUL 6 Apr]* 26
Pursuit of Russian Arms Purchases Continues *[ROMANIA LIBERA 8 Apr]* 27
Roman Views Reform, Ties With PDSR *[ROMANIA LIBERA 9 Apr]* 27

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

UN Reports Further Serb Advances on Gorazde *[AFP]* 30
Serbs Shell Refugee Convoys *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30
Karadzic Cancels All Agreements With UN *[AFP]* 30
Churkin, Karadzic To Visit Gorazde *[AFP]* 31
Churkin To Hold Talks With UN in Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 32
Serbs Agree to Cease-Fire *[AFP]* 32
Akashi, Lapresle Fail To Meet With Serbs *[AFP]* 32
Serbs Surround, Blockade UNPROFOR Troops *[AFP]* 32
Troops Encircled by Mines *[Stockholm Radio]* 33
UN Says Serbs Trying To Reclaim Weapons *[AFP]* 33
Karadzic, Mladic Defiant Over NATO Attacks *[TANJUG]* 33
Mladic Orders Troops To Down NATO Aircraft *[Belgrade Radio]* 34
U.S. Bombers Overfly Serb Positions in Gorazde *[TANJUG]* 34
NATO Aircraft Overfly Serb Lines *[TANJUG]* 34
Muslims Resume Attack *[TANJUG]* 35
UN Commander Explains Reasons for Air Strikes *[Paris Radio]* 35
Izetbegovic: No Dialogue Until Serbs Withdraw *[Sarajevo Radio]* 35
Rose Asks Bosnians To Stop Gorazde Provocations *[Paris TV]* 35
Izetbegovic Responds *[AFP]* 36
Muslims in Gorazde Deny Being Hit *[Sarajevo Radio]* 36
Muslims Reportedly Forewarned of Air Strike *[TANJUG]* 36
Serb Fighters 'Not Frightened' During Strike *[Belgrade Radio]* 37
Serbs Seek Condemnation of NATO 'Aggression' *[TANJUG]* 37
Gorazde Death Toll Reaches 187 *[Sarajevo Radio]* 38
More Ukrainian Peacekeepers To Arrive *[AFP]* 38
Silajdzic on Russia, Gorazde, UN, Embargo *[London TV]* 39
Serbs Target Sarajevo With Grenade Launchers *[Sarajevo Radio]* 39
Three Killed in Shelling of Usora *[Zagreb Radio]* 40
Muslims Intensify Attacks on Doboj, Ozren *[TANJUG]* 40
Inter-Muslim Fighting Resumes in Northwest *[TANJUG]* 40
Economic Prospects of Srpska Republic *[POLITIKA 15 Mar]* 40

CROATIA

Granic, Greek Foreign Minister Meet in Athens *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
Serb Delegation Postpones Scheduled Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
Serbs Demand 'Neutral Ground' *[TANJUG]* 42
Croat Negotiator Comments *[Zagreb TV]* 42
Successful Croat-Serb Cease-Fire Cooperation *[TANJUG]* 43
Tudjman Urges Izetbegovic To Release Prisoners *[Zagreb Radio]* 43

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Lilic: UN 'Compromised Itself' by Air Strikes *[TANJUG]* 44

Serbia

Milosevic Meets With Akashi, Condemns Strikes *[TANJUG]* 44

Kosovo

Rugova Condemns Greek 'Act of Terror' *[Tirana TV]* 45
Government Says Greek, Serb Policy Coordinated *[Tirana TV]* 45
Cabinet Views NATO Attacks on Serbs *[Tirana TV]* 45

Government Orders Greek Consul To Leave

AU1204155294 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] The Albanian Government at noon today declared Khristos Iakovou, Greek general consul in Gjirokaster, persona non grata. The decision was officially stated in a note to Greek Ambassador in Tirana Tsalikis.

The note from the Albanian Foreign Ministry states that the decision to expel the Greek consul was based on activities not in accordance with his duties in our country. He is obliged to leave the Republic of Albania within 48 hours from the time of the official note's delivery.

Foreign Ministry Recalls Envoy to Greece

AU1204193394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Concerning the event on the Albanian-Greek border, Albanian Ambassador to Greece Hysen Cabej, was summoned for consultations at the Albanian Foreign Ministry today.

Berisha, Officials Condemn Greek 'Massacre'

AU1204181494 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Report by Zamira Koleci]

[Text] [Announcer] The country continues to express deep indignation against the criminal act by the Greek chauvinists who took the lives of two Albanian officers and wounded several others. As we have learned, President Berisha last evening met with political party representatives, government members, and chairmen of various associations to discuss this tragic and painful event.

[Koleci] The president's press and information office reports that President Sali Berisha yesterday afternoon organized a meeting attended by Meksi, Vukaj, Malasi, Serreqi, [Public Order Minister] Musaraj, [Social Democratic Party Chairman] Gjinushi, Laco, [Republican Party Chairman] Godo, Shamata, Hajdaraga, Kola, and [Independent Trade Union Chairman] Xheka to discuss the massacre that one of the Greek commando units carried out with premeditation in the early hours of Sunday [10 April] in the recruiters barracks in Peshkepi e Siperme, 4 km into Albanian territory.

President Berisha stressed that this act is a real massacre and an unprecedented violation of Albania's integrity and sovereignty since 1949. This marks an open hostile act by Greece against Albania and is a continuation of other terroristic acts committed by Greek forces, such as the case of the murder of the shepherd in Devoll and the assault on our warship in our own waters. All of these—even though they are documented—have been negated by the Greek Government through dishonest means.

For the past two years, Berisha continued, we have made intensive efforts to develop cooperation and relations with Greece. We have tried and will continue to try so that the Greek minority in Albania and our emigrants in Greece will be a powerful factor of cooperation and understanding between our two peoples and countries.

Unfortunately, I would say, for the misfortune of the Greek Government circles, we have ascertained that the Greek side has used Albanian emigrants as a means of pressure against Albania, even openly making calls for its destabilization. Concerning the minority, attempts have been made to manipulate it and turn it into an apple of discord for Albania.

Berisha stressed that our policy toward the minority cannot change because of the absurd stance of the Greek Government and officials toward Albania. The president continued to say that the minority is and will be free citizens of Albania. We will continue our efforts for the expansion of human rights and freedoms for Albanians and the minority.

Further on, Berisha reconfirmed his determination and that of the government to persistently continue the policy of decreasing the tension and contributing toward peace and stability in the region, something that is not at all desired by those who are interested in creating tensions and conflicts.

On the other hand, the Albanian president informed those present that the government is making all the demarches to friendly countries and international organizations to condemn this grave act of terrorism on the part of Greece and ask her to put an end to this policy by finding and convicting its culprits. The Albanian Government will take every measure to counterac. terror of any kind and secure its own citizens.

Those present supported the statement by President Berisha and considered this meeting very useful. They strongly condemned the ugly and terroristic act against Albania and supported the constructive policy of the Albanian Government in the region. They also asked the government to condemn this terrorist act to the UN Security Council and international organizations and take all measures to see that such acts are no longer repeated.

They also asked the Albanian Government to continue to oppose the policy of Hellenism in the south of the country and expand its policy on preserving peace and stability in the region. Those present at the meeting said that everyone should clearly understand that when it is a question of the national question, the Albanians are and will remain a sole voice.

Assembly Unanimously Condemns 'Criminal Act'

AU1204192094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] In a plenary session this morning, the People's Assembly approved a draft statement presented by the Permanent Parliamentary Commissions of Foreign Policy, Defense, Public Order, and ShIK [National Information Service] regarding the criminal act of 10 April by Greek terrorists against Albania's integrity and sovereignty.

[Begin recording of unidentified speaker at the People's Assembly] As you have been informed, an incident occurred on the Albanian-Greek border on 10 April 1994 that ended in a tragic event—two Albanian officers lost their lives, three others were wounded, and many others' lives were endangered.

To honor the memory of the martyrs, these two youths who lost their lives in their prime, I invite you to stand up and honor their memory with a minute's silence. May their memory not be forgotten.

The Foreign Affairs and Defense Commissions met yesterday to analyze this incident. They presented a draft statement to the People's Assembly, which, after being discussed in the presidency with the chairmen of the parliamentary groups, was later discussed in the parliamentary groups as well. I will now read this draft statement:

The People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania is deeply indignant over the unprecedented criminal act of 10 April that was committed by Greek terrorists against Albania's integrity and sovereignty.

According to the official confirmation, at approximately 0230 a Greek terrorist unit of seven armed people dressed in Greek military uniforms entered Albanian territory near the Peshkepi village in the Gjirokaster district. Penetrating approximately 4 km, at a recruits training center two of them surprised and killed with an automatic weapon Arsen Llazar Gjini, an 18-year-old soldier from the village of Seman in the Fier district. After this act, four others entered the officers' dormitory while the officers were sleeping and opened fire on them. The 33-year-old head of training, Captain First Class Fatmir Sali Shehu, born in Tepelene and resident of Gjirokaster, was shot dead in this barbarous act. Three soldiers were wounded and many others' lives were endangered. While these inhuman acts were being committed, one of the terrorists shouted in Greek: This is for Vorio-Epir, do not think we have forgotten.

After this act, the unit—pursued by Albanian border guards—left and crossed the Greek border. The direction of the pursuit proved that the unit came from the direction of the Greek post of Argjirohor.

This was a premeditated act carried out by a criminal group, for which the Greek Government bears full responsibility. Such events on our border have been recurrent, despite the protests and careful stance maintained by our government. Under the present extremely tense situation in the Balkans, an escalation of such events endangers the progress of relations that exist between our two countries. Albania is a democratic country that respects all principles and known international norms in relations between states and is devoting every effort tries to creating a climate of understanding, peace, and equilibrium in the Balkans. However, such events run contrary to international and EC efforts for peace and stability.

The People's Assembly of Albania asks the parliament of the Republic of Greece to see to it that the Greek Government bear responsibility for this act and condemn those responsible, as well as take serious measures to prevent a repetition of such events, which can cause unforeseen developments to the detriment of our bilateral relations and peace in the Balkans.

We urge all international organizations to exert all their influence on the Greek parliament and Government for a rapid solution to this tense situation created by the Greek side.

Deeply feeling the pain of the victims' families as a common Albanian pain, the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania, the legitimate representative of the Albanian people, extends its deepest sympathy to them.

By unanimously condemning and denouncing such a criminal act, the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania asks that all Albanian citizens remain calm and mature in keeping with our people and the determination for the country's defense and the preservation of peace and good neighborliness.

The People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania. [applause]

Deputies, I invite you to approve this draft statement through a consensus. The statement, as I can see, is unanimously approved. [end recording]

[Announcer] The People's Assembly will devote a whole plenary session to the discussion of this grave event at 1000 on 15 April, when Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and Public Order Minister Agron Musaraj will address the deputies.

Foreign Ministry Statement on NATO Strikes

AU1204133294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] We have received a statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman on the air strikes against ground targets in the region of the Bosnian city of Gorazde, which has been declared a safe area.

The spokesman recalls the Foreign Ministry statement regarding NATO's ultimatum on withdrawing heavy weapons around Sarajevo, which also expressed the hope that there will be no need for radical means to halt military actions on the territory of Bosnia. However, developments in the situation showed that certain sides in the conflict are taking steps that contradict the decision of the UN Security Council. This causes serious concern and reduces the chances of finding a lasting peaceful solution to the conflict.

The reaction of the international community under the UN aegis is an expression of its determination to take all possible measures to implement the relevant decisions on defending the safe areas and the personnel of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], the statement points out. Those actions are a clear signal to the sides to the conflict to enter active negotiations to end the conflict.

At the same time, the Foreign Ministry statement expresses the hope that similar radical measures will not cause a chain reaction. The sides to the conflict are called upon to refrain from actions that could delay the achievement of the vitally important peace agreements.

Berov 'in Quarantine'; Hepatitis Possible

AU1304084094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] After repeated queries on our part, a few minutes ago Raycho Raykov, head of the government Press Center, issued the following announcement:

Having recuperated from his cardiac bypass operation on 12 March, Professor Berov began taking an active part in the work of the Council of Ministers on 7, 8, and 10 April.

According to information received at 0900 on 13 April from Dr. Todor Gerasimov, head of Lozenets Hospital, the condition of the prime minister's cardiovascular system and blood circulation continues to be stable.

However, on 11 April a change in Prof. Berov's health condition was noted. The clinical conclusion was that there was the possibility of hepatitis. Specialized laboratory tests are under way and the results will be published in a day or two.

According to Dr. Gerasimov, because of the development of a clinical picture of the hepatitis virus, Prof. Berov is in quarantine. He will have no personal contacts in the next few days.

SDS Discusses Proposing No-Confidence Vote

AU1204173694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will await the National Assembly's discussion of the interpellation of the SDS deputies on the government's financial policy, and if the draft decision that negatively assesses the government policy is not supported, a no-confidence vote will be proposed. This was decided at today's meeting of the SDS National Coordinating Council.

The behavior of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] shows that very little could be achieved through parliamentary methods, Filip Dimitrov said. However, he did not say what extraparliamentary actions the SDS plans to prompt the resignation of the cabinet and early elections.

At an extraordinary meeting next Wednesday [20 April] the chairmen of the member parties of the SDS coalition will discuss the SDS' strategy and tactics. The parties must propose the criteria according to which the future SDS deputies will be approved.

The SDS will not support the strike prepared by the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, but it does expect the strike to facilitate the toppling of the cabinet.

Tomov Criticizes Zhelev's London Statements

AU1104142394 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 5 Apr 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Aleksandur Tomov, chairman of the Civic Alliance for the Republic, by Todor Tokin; place and date not given: "We Will Support Any Government That Brings About the Country's Stabilization"]

[Text] The chairman of GOR [Civic Alliance for the Republic] is nearing his 40th birthday. Last July he left the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], and 10 days later also left the Socialists' parliamentary group. The GOR has almost 800 local and 110 municipal organizations.

[Tokin] Mr. Tomov, how do you assess the economic and political situation in Bulgaria at the moment?

[Tomov] I think that the situation has become extremely heated at an awkward time, and the politicians are the main cause of this. Many people have lost their nerve who are striving at all costs to seize power. What is more, it is clear that some people have become scared that if we sign the agreement with the IMF and the banks of the London Club, this will happen without them and they will be unable to utilize the substantial sums that the world organizations are granting. I think this political gambling with margins is untimely and very harmful for the country. Unfortunately, the general situation at the moment is destructive. In Zlatograd recently someone said to me: "At one time Simeon Radev wrote 'The

Builders of Modern Bulgaria'; today someone around will probably write a book called 'Destroyers of Modern Bulgaria.'"

[Tokin] Have things really become as bad as that?

[Tomov] Today very few people think about the consequences and the cost of the changes that they are demanding. Every spring, political schizophrenia breaks out in Bulgaria, and this is the fifth year in which it has happened.

[Tokin] Did the president not add fuel to the flames by saying in London that the government is sick? Who would conclude the expected agreements with a sick government?

[Tomov] To blacken the name of the state and the state institutions abroad harms Bulgaria, whatever the reasons are. In civilized countries, no one makes assessments of their government when abroad. If you want people to respect you abroad, you should say only nice things about Bulgaria. Accordingly, I do not think the president's statement in London was constructive. Second, I have always advised him to act as an arbiter and stand above the national parties and the situation at the time, above petty feuds and petty aims. This is the president's constitutional role, one that cannot be replaced, in view of the weakness of the institutions and the power vacuum. In his statements President Zhelev took sides, and when he has taken one side, he has always lost. If he does not do so, he will always win.

[Tokin] How do you view the other statement he made in London, about the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], NSD [New Alliance for Democracy], DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement], and the independent members of parliament forming a government?

[Tomov] The president probably does have some idea of this kind. However, first, it was not the right place to announce such a thesis; second, such a prospect is not very realistic. Offers of this kind are made when it is clear that they will be accepted. When a head of state makes such statements and it turns out that everything is hanging in the air and that those who are expected to form this government do not want to hear anything about it and make statements to the opposite effect, this naturally dooms such proposals to failure and does not increase the authority of the head of state.

[Tokin] What kind of government does the GOR advocate?

[Tomov] We will support any government that brings about the country's stabilization and solves the two great problems, namely signing the agreements with the IMF and the creditor banks. If this comes about, if the government guarantees relative stability for the lev and skillfully manages the scanty reserves at our disposal, then this would be of benefit. If, however, the country is thrown into chaos, the people who make the political provocations will have to take the responsibility. It is possible to achieve a political consensus on holding elections in the fall, but at the moment, when this outcome is being forced upon us by declaring that the government is useless, by holding rallies, and by launching attacks on the Bulgarian lev—something that I regard as especially dangerous, all this leads to destructive tendencies. This is the scenario offered to us by the people who want elections as soon as possible. Here I would like to stress that GOR has no commitments to the present government. We can see its numerous weaknesses. Accordingly, if someone proposes replacing it by a better one, the GOR will support this idea. However, is there anyone who can make such an offer? If the government simply falls now, and the elections are not held until October or November, this will lead to five or six months of chaos, and we will find ourselves in a situation of spiralling inflation—this is my solemn warning.

[Tokin] Nevertheless, now that the president has withdrawn his confidence in the present government, which government will sign the agreements?

[Tomov] Any legitimate government can do this, but not a caretaker government or one that has been toppled. If anyone topples Lyuben Berov's cabinet now and no new alternative cabinet is formed quickly, then it is possible that no agreements will be signed.

The thesis that Ivan Kostov developed last week, that it is impossible to maintain the dollar at a reasonable level and at the same time sign the agreements, is actually a thesis against the agreements. However, as we saw, the next day following his statements the IMF slapped down this thesis by announcing that the issue will be examined before 11 April. I maintain that the lev can be saved if the agreements are signed and if we receive the first tranche by 15-20 April.

[Tokin] In the meantime, there is talk about a "blue" [SDS] caretaker cabinet....

[Tomov] If Dr. Zhelev appoints a caretaker government, this government will probably have such a tinge, despite the fact that a balance should be maintained. The best thing would be for it to be composed of people who have no direct commitment as regards the elections and who will not be tempted to act in favor of one or another party.

[Tokin] What do you think about applying value-added tax to newspapers?

[Tomov] We cannot deviate from European standards. As I have said in parliament, it is ridiculous for us to have rates three or four times higher than the average European ones. I look at the issue purely pragmatically: The revenue that the budget receives from the press is insignificant. I say that the taxation policy proposed by Ivan Kostov is totally wrong. To me, it is a policy favored by tax collectors.

[Tokin] Would you agree to lead a cabinet now, at this moment?

[Tomov] I hardly have a moral right to do this within the term of the present National Assembly. Nonetheless, I will say that the problems facing a politician are now quite specific, that is, everything depends on the balance of forces inside parliament. I would associate myself with a government on one sole condition, namely if I feel that I have solid support behind me both in parliament and in the nation at large. I am especially interested in the latter. Moreover, I would want to be given a free rein to do what I want. Change must come about in Bulgaria. Bulgaria needs a new choice.

[Tokin] Do you remain an optimist, despite everything you have said about concluding the agreements with the financial institutions?

[Tomov] Yes. This is a chance for Bulgaria to escape from the present situation and join the family of civilized states.

If we fail because of political machinations, the whole blame will fall on the shoulders of those "Bulgarian politicians" who cannot see any further than their own noses.

Commentary Compares Army Cuts to Stalin Purges

AU1104171094 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 6 Apr 94 p 8

[Lazar Tomov commentary: "Eliminating Shoulder Straps"]

[Text] In all probability the massive "shock" dismissal of officers and sergeants will afflict the depleted ranks of the Bulgarian Army. This became clear after the second meeting of the Consultative Council on National Security. At the meeting Defense Minister Aleksandrov reportedly declared his Ministry's inability to feed the Army. Therefore, in the near future we could be relying on a 55,000-man Army. The food will suffice only for such a size.

Everyone understands that even the present armed forces personnel cannot guarantee the country's national security and integrity. This is also well known to our benevolent (for the time being) neighbors in the Balkans. In addition, no one doubts that the results of the "reform" in the army in the last four years have amounted to dismissing 2,000 officers.

The new element now is that the 3,000 officers and almost 1,000 sergeants who have been marked (in the best case) for "gradual" dismissal will be requalified according to a U.S. model. Thus, after comprehensively using the Soviet leading experience, now we are advancing toward using the U.S. experience. The minister reportedly proposed other novelties: As consolation, the officers and sergeants dismissed will receive securities rather than the 12-months of wages that they are entitled to. Perhaps he wants to turn them into stock market dealers?

The methodology of a British military institute has also been used for the envisaged cuts. However, we do not know whether this methodology also recommends cuts in the drastically inflated payroll of the high-ranking officers on the General Staff and in the Defense Ministry. And another thing, is our army not turning into a producer of young pensioners?

Is is not more appropriate to adopt first the national security concept and pass the Law on Defense and the Armed Forces? Otherwise all this resembles cutting off the head of the army. It also reminds us of the experiments of the "father of all nations" [Stalin], who from 1937 until the beginning of the war against Germany "purged" his army of its talented and able officers. We know the results of this purge. Let us hope that we will not have to experience those results in our country.

Skoda Dismantles Nuclear Research Reactor

AU1304085894 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Apr 94 p 8

[Article by "(rc)": "The Skoda Plant Is Liquidating Its Research Reactor"]

[Text] The Plzen Skoda factory is liquidating its SR research reactor in Vochov near Plzen, including spent fuel and unused fuel. The reactor is of its own construction and manufacture and was used from 1970 until 1989. This information was provided to RUDE PRAVO by Engineer Frantisek Svitak, deputy director of the Skoda Nuclear Engineering Plant in Plzen. The Skoda plant does not need the reactor anymore. It was used to test various measuring methods and devices, to train reactor operators, to train students from the West Bohemian University, and to conduct radiation testing for the republican Civil Defense organization.

Despite the fact that the reactor is not contaminated (it was reconstructed in 1986 and was not put into operation after that date), all legal standards must be met during the liquidation of the workplace in Vochov. Regulations regarding the handling of fuel are equally strict. The State Office for Nuclear Safety in Prague and the International Agency for Atomic Energy in Vienna supervise fuel-handling. Moreover, any fuel-handling must not contravene the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Materials.

At present, they have approximately 10 kilograms of uranium 235 in sandwich-type metallic fuel at the Skoda plant. The Slovak Technical University has shown interest in the reactor and fuel. Because of the lack of funds on the part of the customer, however, the negotiations failed. Prospective buyers in Germany have also shown interest but did not meet the requirements. The Nuclear Research Institute in Rez near Prague is currently interested in the reactor. According to Eng. Svitak, the Skoda plant is conducting the most promising negotiations with two French firms that would like to buy the research reactor and the fuel.

Firearms Thefts Increasing; Ministry Drafts Law

AU1204135594 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Apr p 2

[Article by "gag": "Businessmen Arm Themselves, Arms Thefts Multiply"]

[Text] Prague—Some 20,000 arms permits have been issued in the capital. The permit holders own 19,000 handguns, 5,000 rifles, and 1,000 small-caliber firearms. M. Dohnal of the Prague police told reporters this yesterday. Last year, in comparison with 1992, the number of arms-permit applications doubled. According to Dohnal, this is caused by the growing number of businessmen who want to protect their property. The Interior Ministry is drafting a law on arms and ammunition. It should do away with the so-called group arms permits (there are 800-900 of them in Prague) and require special training for applicants for individual permits and a psychological assessment. The policeman, unlike the legislators, believes that a permit should also be required for crossbows, which he described as very precise, quiet, and deadly. The law should go into effect at the beginning of next year. The theft of firearms is alarming; approximately 10 disappear in Prague every day.

Three Tiers To Be Eliminated From Army

AU1204134594 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 31 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by "mus": "Through the Army Corps, Closer to NATO"]

[Text] Olomouc—Beginning immediately, the 2d Army Corps of the Army of the Czech Republic General Staff will operate in the Havlickuv Brod, Chrudim, Usti nad Orlici, and Svitavy districts instead of the Olomouc Military Command Center.

The former six-tier organization of the Army is merging into three levels—General Staff, army corps, and brigades. According to Army Chief of Staff Jiri Nekvasil, the democratic states' representatives could not understand the former multitier organization. The main reason for the ongoing transformation of the Army is to make its structure transparent and harmonize it with the system used in the armies of the democratic states.

According to the commander of the 2d Army Corps, Frantisek Podesva, the Olomouc corps will be responsible for the smooth, properly developed general training of the troops and the organization of their daily life. It will also take care of the conscripts and the reserve soldiers in its territory. The previous divisions will be replaced in the lower-level arrangement by three motorized brigades—specifically, the Brno 6th motorized brigade, the Kromeriz 7th motorized brigade, and the Valasske Mezirici 8th motorized brigade. The NCO training centers and courses will start their operation on 1 October. The soldiers of the combat units will begin to train in the brigade structure on 1 January of next year.

Reportage on Official Visit of Strobe Talbott

Commentary Previews Talks

AU1204150294 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Apr 94 p 5

[Article by O. Korinek, TA SR correspondent in Washington: "Partnership for Peace a Priority; Prior to Strobe Talbott's Visit to Bratislava"]

[Text] Strobe Talbott, U.S. deputy secretary of state, is the thus-far highest U.S. representative to visit independent Slovakia. What is even more important, however, is that he is the author of the Partnership for Peace project, which sets the tone of current activities and considerations concerning points of departure and solutions to European security.

His visit is taking place at a time when U.S. relations with Central Europe assume, so it seems, a new dynamism. This is because the domestic political scene in Russia, on which the United States almost exclusively and, perhaps, idealistically concentrated at the beginning of the Clinton administration, has undergone substantial changes in the course of the past year. The almost conflict-free partner Russia—let us only recall the Vancouver summit—has begun to act as a power with its own foreign political interests that it wants to assert. That these need not always tally with U.S. interests is borne out by Strobe Talbott's words in the U.S. Congress that "we will cooperate with the Russians where we will be able to, and, in areas where we will not be able to cooperate, we will have to find ways of minimizing the deterioration of the problem involved and of [U.S.-Russian] relations in general."

During the Cold War, the United States spent considerable efforts and resources to defeat communism. It is therefore in its interest not to squander the political capital it gained with the fall of communism. And, as the hopes pinned on Russia are becoming increasingly problematic, Central Europe, where the thrust toward Western-type democracy is much less problematic and which could also form a geographic dam against opposite tendencies, is moving into the foreground.

It is therein that one must seek the roots of the intensifying dynamism of U.S. relations toward Central Europe. Partnership for Peace is not only a security issue, but also a supremely political issue. The fact that Strobe Talbott said shortly before his trip that it must be transformed from something abstract into something real and be "given practical significance, especially in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe" and that, according to his own words, precisely this will be the central issue of his talks in Bratislava and Warsaw, clearly underscored the growing importance of the Central European region in U.S. eyes.

In an interview for THE WASHINGTON POST on the eve of NATO's Brussels summit, President Michal Kovac proposed a certain form of political membership in NATO for the countries of the Visegrad Four Group, an idea that he also reiterated in a recent article for the NATO REVIEW. Of course, it is scarcely possible to expect any changes to the form of Partnership [for Peace] as approved by the supreme NATO body. The United States itself says, however, that Partnership for Peace is, by its very nature, an evolutionary process. Hence, if no specific criteria [for NATO membership] are set today, and if no form of associate membership is conceded, either, it does not mean that no conditions can be established for this in the course of the Pan-European and, in particular, East European political and security development, including by the activity of partners.

The United States's view of Central Europe is the view of a great power. It is no coincidence that its representatives repeatedly place emphasis on regional cooperation among members of the Visegrad Four Group. Translated into plain language, this is an evident hint that the states of the Visegrad Four Group should resolve their internal and mutual problems to such an extent that their basic stability and orientation become irreversible. When considering European security, it is easier to think in the dimensions of a 65-million bloc—one, moreover, located in a region that has always been a bone of contention in Europe—than in terms of smaller entities. The incorporation of this bloc [into Western structures] will resolve problems more fundamentally, and a bloc is also better suited to influence, by its weight, the overall climate.

President Receives Talbott

LD1204144694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpt] President Michal Kovac received Strobe Talbott, U.S. deputy secretary of state, in Bratislava today.

President Kovac informed Talbott about the current political situation in Slovakia and highlighted our interest in being integrated into the political, economic, and security structures of the West, on the premise that both Russia and Ukraine respect this decision. [passage omitted]

No Intention of Filing Formal EU Application

AU1304104794 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 9 Apr 94 p 1

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, by Anna Vargova; place and date not given: "One Must Prepare Oneself for Entry Into the European Union"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] While in Vienna, you surely also discussed our interest and endeavor to become a member of the European Union [EU]. How do the Austrian partners perceive our chances?

[Weiss] The Slovak Republic naturally wants to become integrated into the EU. I believe that it is necessary to be

well prepared for entry practically, legally, and economically. The Slovak Republic, too, could file a formal application for EU membership within a few days. That is not what matters, however. I am in favor of preparing a well-thought-out strategy of preparing Slovakia for this entry, which should be based on the Agreement on Association With the EU.

[Vargova] Have you discussed within the framework of the coalition the possibility of the present government filing such an application?

[Weiss] No, we have not discussed this issue.

[Vargova] At the news conference in Vienna, you said that you would like to become prime minister after the elections. Could you specify your reply?

[Weiss] I said that every party naturally wants to win elections and have the prime minister.

[Vargova] If the SDL should win the election, has a decision already been made in your party that you would be its candidate for this post?

[Weiss] No decision on this issue has yet been made by SDL bodies. In the case of our electoral victory, we would definitely nominate the prime minister.

Highlights of Government Policy Statement

LD1204192194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1434 GMT 12 Apr 94

["Highlights" of government policy statement read by Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik to the National Council on 12 April—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mr. Chairman of the National Council, esteemed Deputies, ladies and gentlemen:

In the history of the nation and in the history of the state, there are periods reminiscent of crossroads. I am convinced that, at this very moment, we find ourselves precisely at such a place. And it is precisely at this moment that it is important to speak the truth and give things their correct names. Otherwise, we might lose our direction at this crossroads. That is why it is important to think over what we are being told so that we do not succumb to passions that could lead us to disastrous conflicts. What we need is healthy judgment, so that we are not turned into a tool of demagoguery.

We must say this to ourselves to explain why it is we, this government, who are here, why we thought it necessary to change the government in the middle of an election term. It is not something extraordinary in the history of European parliamentarism. However, it is not something that happens very often. I believe very strongly that it needs to be explained before we start assessing this government's policy statement.

To start with, I would like to talk about something personal. When I think about public affairs, I often think about what happened in November 1989. At that time, I was with my students at the Comenius University in Bratislava. I can still feel their resolve to change the current state of affairs, their hope and faith in the future. I identified with their feelings. I promised myself then that I must not let them down. This moral obligation is for me the highest criterion in my political activity, as well. It is more important than belonging to a political party or to a movement. I am trying to say that there are and must be in politics values that are above political parties and that political parties must respect. Otherwise, our Constitution will yet again become a formal document.

These are values that an overwhelming majority of the Slovak population agreed on at the end of 1989. The stability and prosperity of advanced Europe is built on these values. We have identified these values as protection of a citizen's rights and freedoms, protection of his right to own property, and the democratic management of public affairs. There is no need to think of other methods. Other methods lead to stagnation. We are in the center of Europe. If we invent other rules and other principles of arranging the state and society, we will only harm ourselves.

I would like to discuss one problem whose explanation is very important for our future. It is the problem of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], which won in the election two years ago but was not able to maintain power. The question emerges: Is this only an internal tragedy of this movement, or is it a fact that can be generalized and from which lessons can be drawn for all? I am convinced that the demise of the HZDS is not only a question for this movement but also touches upon many aspects of the main issues of our young state and concerns the reason for the existence of this government.

Every political party is composed of people who give it its form, direction, and aims. It is from this point of view that the HZDS at the time of the election and the HZDS today are two different entities. The key personalities that formed it in the beginning either left the party or were expelled from it. It lost a significiant part of its electoral base. These pronounced changes could not but be reflected in the composition of our parliament. Eighteen deputies left the HZDS club, and others are considering this. The original club of the Slovak National Party [SNS] has also fallen apart, which is also connected with the development of the HZDS.

We often ask the justified question of why they did so. Some reply that it was treason, personal interest, changing sides for reward, as is the case with football clubs. All this is a fabrication. It is used, above all, by those who want to hide in this way their share of guilt. The reality is more unpleasant than that.

Let me point to my personal experience. In the last election campaign, together with Michal Kovac, Roman

Kovac, Milan Knazko, Rudolf Filkus, and Lubomir Dolgos, I did not tell our voters, the voters of the then HZDS, that we were trying to win them over to be able to carry out the privatization for our benefit and for the benefit of our party followers, that, with their help, we wanted to build a state party. We promised them something completely different. We told them we wanted democracy, cooperative, nonconfrontational politics—that is, cooperation with the other political parties, better social security, a better sense of security, high-quality performance in office, and so on.

From the point of view and experience of today, we have, in fact, introduced them to these things because reality has developed differently for two years after the elections.

For instance, what explanation can Deputies Meciar, Keltosova, and Tothova offer to their electorate about the fact that, as Cabinet members, they voted in favor of a decision by which, within the framework of privatization, they have literally donated 1 billion korunas to private individuals—I am speaking about the transfer of shares of the VSZ [East Slovak Ironworks] to a private company. Is this what they promised the citizens?

There are more questions we can and must ask. Is it in harmony with the democratic principles of executive power to finance a party's newspaper with state money—that is, using money from taxes paid by all of the citizens? I am speaking about the REPUBLIKA daily. We would not find something like this in any democratic state.

Is it right to use taxpayers' money to organize a referendum, the aim of which is to be one party gaining seats they have lost in parliament?

Did those who voted for the HZDS expect the prime minister to strictly demand from his ministers that they appoint HZDS members to head personnel departments and control bodies at all ministries?

I am mentioning all this so as to ask a more fundamental question: Is the preservation of democracy guaranteed by a political party or by the deputies' conscience? No party can be or is the supreme authority. If we go along with the HZDS's proposal to subordinate a deputy's conscience to the party will, we will sow a seed in our parliament that might grow very fast into a one-party system.

We are quite often told by the HZDS that it is the only one capable of forming a functioning government, that its chairman is the only one capable of managing public affairs at this time. We must be very alert when hearing such voices and not underestimate them in any way. We have previous experience in the period when one party declared itself exceptional. Both Stalin and Brezhnev were, for instance, convinced that no one could replace them.

To achieve stability in our state, we need stable political parties that will secure the permanence and continuity of the democratic process. Much, therefore, depends on the future development of political parties in Slovakia. It is necessary to pay proper attention and take note in which parties and movements malice is spreading against certain groups of citizens, which parties and movement have built their profile on excessive worshipping of one person, from where confrontational attitudes and demagoguery are ensuing, being perceived as fundamental methods of the political struggle. It is not possible to cooperate with such political parties. They do exist, but they belong to the margins of the political spectrum.

It is exactly in this connection that I would like to stress the importance of the current government coalition. This coalition proves that effective cooperation between political entities of different political orientations is possible also in Slovakia. These parties have come to understand that they must place the state interest above their differences of opinion.

At this stage, the future of Slovakia is being decided for a long time ahead. It is therefore necessary to bring together Slovakia's whole creative potential right now. To achieve that, we will have to create favorable conditions, an atmosphere of peace, understanding, and willingness to cooperate. This means that we need the national and civic reconciliation for which the president of the Slovak Republic appealed in his speech to this parliament—which has been recalled in this parliament by a prominent Slovak personality, Cardinal Tomko—and the need for which is, as a memento of Svatopluk twigs [fable in which Moravian ruler Svatopluk told his sons to stay together because a group of twigs bundled together is stronger than the total of the individual strengths of each twig], ever present in our history.

This government coalition is offering such an atmosphere and the concentration of creative potential.

Ladies and gentlemen, another very important and repeatedly debated issue is the relation between the emergence of our independent state and the development of our statehood. I do not want to lead a discussion on who deserves credit and to what extent for the fact that Slovakia is an independent republic or to belittle or exaggerate the merits of individuals or political parties, even though legends always surround such historic events. In a way, these issues already belong to the domain of historians.

It is beyond doubt that Slovakia's independence is a great challenge for us, an opportunity to gauge our own ability and strength and to prove our viability. At the same time, it brings great responsibility toward this generation as well as future generations, whose life-styles we are predetermining today. Most of all, it is important what foundations we lay for statehood, what we leave to the coming generations.

The resposibility for this is equally shared by all who live and have decided to live in this country, regardless of

how they have assessed the emergence of an independent state, whether they were in favor or against. This has to be understood especially by those who would like to differentiate between greater and lesser patriots, who claim that words published in one Slovak paper are more Slovak than those published in another Slovak paper. If we go on differentiating like this, we will lose our republic. Slovakia is our homeland.

It is home to Slovaks and members of many other ethnic groups who have been living in Slovakia for centuries. We have proved our maturity also by being able to create a peaceful atmosphere for the coexistence of citizens of different ethnic backgrounds. This is of great value, and we must not lose it by nurturing national intolerance, which is alien to our character.

Slovakia's borders have been determined by international documents. Anyone who questions the borders in order to whip up nationalist passions is harming Slovakia. Confirmation of the borders, including the borders with the Republic of Hungary, should be the basis for establishing mutual trust. We would thus make a major and important step on the path to historical reconciliation.

The principle of searching for enemies both at home and abroad cannot be used to consolidate Slovak statehood. This is a path leading to conflicts that need never occur and that impoverish us.

Ladies and gentlemen, the demise of the HZDS and the SNS as ruling parties, their inability to maintain policy unity, and their inability to cooperate with other political parties were the direct cause of the recent political crisis. These parties bear the political responsibility for the fact that there have to be early parliamentary elections. The HZDS, especially, or what remains of this movement was unable to cope with the responsibility with which it had been vested by those who cast their votes for it in the election. The movement has exercised power in a way that has put off some of its members and discredited the movement itself in the eyes of the majority of this state's citizens. Its activity resulted in doubt being cast on our credibility in international relations and led the country to economic collapse.

Under these circumstances, the only possible solution to the long-lasting political crisis in Slovakia was the setting up of a broad coalition government. However, after the collapse of the political power that emerged from the election, only a new election can bring a more permanent solution. The proposed policy statement presented by this government is an alternative that can secure such a solution for Slovakia.

With this statement, I am presenting to you the draft of the government policy statement for your consideration, and I am asking you to support it.

Hungarian Leaders View Ties to Government

AU1204131094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 5 Apr 94 p 4

[Interview with Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Movement, and Laszlo Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party, by Ondrej Dostal; place and date not given: "Positive First Steps"]

[Text] The Hungarian parties are sometimes referred to as holding the balance of power because the present government coalition depends on their votes in parliament. We spoke with the chairmen of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH], the Coexistence Movement, and the Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] about the new government and the present state and future of Slovak-Hungarian relations.

[Dostal] Could you compare the previous and present Slovak Governments?

[Bugar] For a year and a half, we were searching for consensus and possible dialogue with Meciar's government. No dialogue took place and a tone of confrontation prevailed. Now we can participate in coalition talks, and one takes an interest in our views. In May 1993, we had a meeting with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. One of the results was the agreement that laws concerning minorities would be deliberated with us before they get into the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR]. Unfortunately, this did not happen. We have now received the promise that not only laws concerning minorities but also all laws will be discussed at meetings of the Coalition Council, and it seems that this promise is being kept. I believe that it is necessary to show the Slovak public that it is possible to govern by other than confrontational means, as was typical of Meciar's government. The endeavor on the part of the new government is a sincere one.

[Duray] The present government differs in a very fundamental way from its predecessor. First and foremost, it is not confrontational and overpoliticized and is more accommodating toward various components of society and more acceptable to foreign partners.

[Nagy] In one respect, the new government differs from its predecessor in a fundamental way: It sends out very clear and unambiguous signals about its political orientation. So far, it has not left the domestic and foreign public in any doubt that it is oriented toward the Western type of democracy, the market mechanism, and the NATO security system, and that it wants to have normal relations with its neighbors, be it the Czech Republic, Hungary, or the other neighbors.

[Dostal] How will the activity of the new government make itself felt in Slovak-Hungarian relations, in your opinion?

[Bugar] My first experience as regards statements by members of the new government is very good. The government is looking for possibilities of coming to an

agreement with the Hungarian side in some way. I think that the change of the confrontational tone can have a positive effect. A braking factor is that soon there will be elections in Hungary, and it is highly unlikely that some specific steps concerning, for example, bilateral agreements will be taken by then. It is possible to at least agree on certain principles concerning mutual cooperation. On both sides, one can feel the realization that the confrontational tone that existed between Hungarian and Slovak political representatives at the government level needs to be changed.

[Duray] The first statements by the prime minister and individual government members are incomparably friendlier toward Hungary and the Hungarians living in Slovakia than statements by the previous government. There have already been positive echoes to this from the Hungarian side. It is questionable whether this government will have the time to bring about some specific changes in relations between Hungary and Slovakia but, judging from the first statements, there exists the possibility of an atmosphere being created between the Governments of Hungary and Slovakia that will reinforce trust.

[Nagy] Positively. The first speech by the prime minister in parliament testifies to his accommodating steps. The government evidently realizes the importance and significance of Slovak-Hungarian relations and wants to take steps to meet the other side halfway. The response from the Hungarian side has been positive, according to my information. It would be good to seal the bilaterally accommodating attitude by a meeting at the highest level still in this period [prior to elections in Hungary and Slovakia]. This good atmosphere and the warming up in mutual relations have been contributed to also by the will of the new Slovak Government to tackle some problems of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

[Dostal] Will the new situation have any impact on the assertion of demands that were adopted at the assembly [of representatives of the Hungarian minority] in Komarno [on 8 January]?

[Bugar] These demands are of a long-term nature. Everyone who knows what they contain realizes that this cannot be accomplished within six months and not even in one year. There exist various areas in which certain steps could be taken. But I would not insist that the Komarno documents be incorporated into the government's program, as it were. They do not even figure among the demands of the Hungarian parties because we, too, realize that this cannot be accomplished in six months.

[Duray] The shortness of this government's term of office does not make it possible to take any major steps, in my opinion. It will not be possible, for example, to pass a constitutional law on the status of minorities in Slovakia, but some partial steps can be taken. And these are already being taken. We assume, for example, that a law on birth registers and a law on the bilingual names of communities will be passed before the summer, that structural changes will be made at the Ministry of Education, and that the concept and the composition of the Government Council for Ethnic Minorities will be changed. It is clear already that the reorganization of the territorial and administrative division of Slovakia planned by Meciar's government is being halted. This was a general demand, however, which is to the satisfaction of all self-administrative bodies in Slovakia.

[Nagy] I believe that the government will fulfill the agreements that have been reached between the political parties represented in government and the Hungarian parliamentary parties. An agreement has been reached on Council of Europe recommendations as well as on some personnel issues. I do not think that the Komarno documents were used as a basis for the agreements between the government and the Hungarian parties.

[Dostal] Do you not expect an aggravation of Slovak-Hungarian relations in the course of the election campaign?

[Bugar] At the moment, I can only rely on the specific steps of this government. I assume that also other steps will help eliminate existing mistrust on both sides. It is very important for us that this government and the political parties that make it up be given a chance also after the elections. Both the government parties and the Hungarian parties are interested in searching for possible rapprochement, and the election campaign could be different from that of 1992, in that respect. In view of our experience with the HZDS and the Slovak National Party [SNS], it is to be expected that they will exploit the issue of ethnic minorities in their election campaign. They will be taking advantage of every step of this government, but also of our steps, in order to demonstrate who is "the savior of this nation" and who "protects the Slovak nation against Hungarians."

[Duray] They could come to a head. The question, first and foremost, is how long the new government will need parliamentary support. We expect the political tranquility we have in Slovakia right now to end with the start of the election campaign, at the latest. The aggravation of political atmosphere in the national sense will depend also on the other Slovak parties, particularly those that were represented in the previous government because it was mainly these parties that had introduced the tone of confrontation into Slovak politics.

[Nagy] I expect the HZDS and the SNS to intensify Slovak-Hungarian tension and to play the so-called Hungarian card, as they have done heretofore. They have no other option if they want to win a certain part of voters to their side. They will create a picture of the enemy with regard to Hungarians and the Czechs. I would be surprised if they did not. But I hope the population of the Slovak Republic will not swallow for the second time the bait of the empty promises of this movement, as it did in 1992.

Kukan: Ties to Hungary Focus on Border Issue

LD1204214994

[Editorial Report] The Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak at 1905 GMT on 12 April, on its regular Tuesday "Press Club" program, carries a 55-minute discussion with Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac, Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner, and Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan.

The Cabinet members take turns in answering journalists' questions. Topics include crime, social welfare, unemployment, foreign relations, the Slovak Government's appeal to heads of district offices, and the progress of parliamentary debate on the government's policy statement.

On the subject of Slovakia's relations with Hungary, Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan is asked about an election campaign speech by Hungarian Prime Minister Peter Boross, in which Boross says he is the spiritual prime minister of 15 million Hungarians. A journalist asks Kukan: "What is your view of this stance, this statement, when considering the prospects of the development of our neighborly relations with Hungary?"

Kukan gives the following response: "This is one of the easier questions. Elections in Hungary are approaching, and, thus, all opportunities are being used to attract votes, and the issue you spoke about is naturally very topical, given the internal political situation in Hungary.

"We have said several times that we are interested in an uninterrupted dialogue with Hungary, in a calm and matter-of-fact dialogue, not an emotional one. I heard about the Hungarian prime minister's statement, and my understanding is that he really means some sort of a spiritual leadership of the Hungarians living abroad. As far as I know, in the same speech, he also said Hungary recognized the existing current borders. From our point of view, this is the decisive thing.

"Our view is that the issue of the borders' inviolability is the fundamental question as regards development of our normal, good-neighborly relationship with Hungary. All other questions will start from there. In our diplomatic relations, we have consistently returned to this issue, and we will insist on resolving it in a way satisfactory to Slovakia's interests. We believe we will succeed in resolving this issue in the future, on condition, naturally, that Hungary will meet us halfway because this is what Slovakia is doing—showing willingness to hold talks and not closing communication channels.

"If we succeed in resolving the issue of the inviolability of the borders in a way satisfactory to Slovakia's interests, I believe our relations with our Hungarian neighbor will have the space to develop in a normal way."

No further processing.

President Recalls Statistical Office Chief Krc

AU1204134294 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Apr 94 p 2

[TA SR report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] In accordance with the coalition agreements and at the proposal of the Government of the Slovak Republic, President Michal Kovac yesterday recalled Rudolf Krc from the post of chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office.

Replaced by Stefan Condik

AU1304121994 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Apr 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "They Need Quality Statistics"]

[Text] Bratislava—Michal Kovac, president of the Slovak Republic, appointed Stefan Condik chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office. The newly appointed chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office took over the letter of appointment yesterday, in the presence of Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik. The president of the Slovak Republic stressed that the Statistical Office chairman has the professional qualifications to execute this important post. He drew attention to the fact that, in the process of transformation, the government and other central bodies require statistical data of high quality.

New National Property Fund Presidium Elected

AU1204130694 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 7 Apr 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "National Property Fund Presidium in New Composition"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—An extraordinary 28th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] was convened yesterday, on the initiative of NRSR Chairman Ivan Gasparovic, to decide on the composition of new supreme bodies of the National Property Fund [FNM] of the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

The deputies decided by secret ballot that Rudolf Janac will be president of the FNM Presidium and Viliam Vaskovic vice president. A total of 92 ballots were distributed; the two votes were then held separately. Rudolf Janac, who had been proposed by the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], received 77 votes, and Viliam Vaskovic (proposed by the "Center" coalition) won the support of 76 deputies.

A third secret ballot determined that Zoltan Zimmermann (Christian Democratic Movement), Pavol Kinces (Center), Juraj Kamaras (Center), Karol Pittner (SDL), Frantisek Szomolay (Coexistence/Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement), and Igor Mathe (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) became members of the FNM Presidium. No other candidate won the needed more

than 50 percent of vote. The seventh member of the FNM Presidium will therefore be elected at the next meeting of parliament.

After the promulgation of the results of the secret ballot, NRSR Chairman Ivan Gasparovic declared the extraordinary meeting of parliament closed. The next, 29th, NRSR extraordinary meeting, which will open on 12 April, will be devoted to the Slovak Government's Policy Statement. [passage omitted]

Army Compared to Hungarian Counterpart

AU1304102094 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 8 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by "kn": "The Army of the Slovak Republic Will Survive, but...."]

[Text] Major General Andrej Sabol, state secretary at the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic, stated yesterday that, in dividing the CSFR Army, we performed "the largest peace operation in Europe." Out of 7,000 professional soldiers of Slovak nationality, some 5,000 have stayed on the territory of the Czech Republic for various reasons. According to Sabol, the Army, too, suffers from a shortage of money, but "our arms systems will survive until approximately 2015." It is not true that the Army of the Slovak Republic is weaker than Hungary's. Slovakia abides by the international agreements on troop numbers and armaments, and its compliance with those agreements is being regularly monitored. Our involvement in the Partnership for Peace is not conditional on the compatibility of our arms systems. What must be common, however, is the method of communication. The prerequisite for this is command of the English language, which is still a problem for our Army.

SNF Calls For 'Voluntary' Armed Units

AU1204144194 Bratislava SME in Slovak 8 Apr 94 p 4

[Commentary by Eva Cobejova: "What Is Hidden Behind One Post Office Box"]

[Text] The weekly ZMENA [Change] has presented to the Slovak youth an offer to become involved in the activity of the Slovak National Front (SNF). We do not learn from the quite extensive article who specifically stands behind this initiative. The address, a post office box in Trnava, does not reveal much. What does the front actually offer us? To build on the "traditions of healthy patriotism and Christian ethics." The aim is to "make the political and economic leadership of the state respect the interests of the nation and protect its freedom.... On no account do we intend to stand idly by and watch the cryptocommunists in parliament and in the Slovak Government sell our homeland to the political-criminal underworld and the international mafia." The SNF will be against foreigners being given jobs in Slovakia and foreign-made goods penetrating our market. The SNF calls for a "morally pure government, supported by a potent Army, the police, and voluntary units of armed citizens in the style of the National Guard." Hidden behind the anonymous post office box in Trnava are thus new armed units that want to defend this nation, whether we want it or not. Does this not remind you by chance of some organizations from Slovak history, about which a judge of the Slovak Supreme Court recently said that these were "good organizations, which were only misused by politicians"? Who will misuse the SNF?

Party Leaders Discuss Election Issues

AU1304104894 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Apr 94 p 15

[Interview with Ferenc Kulin, parliamentary group leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, Laszlo Kover, parliamentary group leader of the Federation of Young Democrats, and Zoltan Gal, parliamentary group leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Gabriel Oszy-Toth in Budapest; date not given: "There Is No Alternative to Western Orientation—Ferenc Kulin, Laszlo Kover, and Zoltan Gal at the MAGYAR NEMZET Roundtable"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Oszy-Toth] When you talk about joining Europe, do you also mean NATO membership?

[Kulin] Economic integration and adjustment to the European Union's [EU] legal system are the primary tasks, and NATO membership and the establishment of a joint defense system may be a consequence of these.

[Gal] For us, the question is how to join Europe because it is clear that we have to join. It is impossible not to join. [passage omitted] Joining Europe is concomitant with the acceptance of a certain value system, our Hungarianness has to be adjusted to certain forms of behavior. Fortunately, a process of decentralization has started in Europe, the regions and links within the regions are playing an increasingly important role. This kind of integration ensures that national characteristics will not disappear. The most important question of European membership is how we can integrate ourselves with the least amount of sacrifices and making the most of the advantages. [passage omitted]

[Kover] I also believe that there is no alternative to Western integration and orientation. Neither isolation—which is advocated by some extremist parties—nor Eastern orientation are feasible ways. In my view, NATO membership is not primarily justified by security policy arguments in the narrow sense of the word. It is not because we have anything to fear either from the Romanians or the Serbs that we should join as soon as possible, rather, because NATO membership is a guarantee for investors of the developed Western world.

[Gal] I agree that NATO membership would be a kind of guarantee, at the same time, Hungary's security also depends on the size of foreign interest in our economy. Gaining membership in the EU will be a long process, therefore, it would be worthwhile to consider whether political and economic membership could be separated from the point of view of scheduling. The political institutions have a greater willingness to accept us. [passage omitted]

[Oszy-Toth] The leading politicians of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] are talking about the danger of left-wing restoration while the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is advocating democratic socialism. Can Zoltan Gal tell us the difference between the so-called democratic socialism and the already known versions (existing, flourishing, and so on) of socialism. Is restoration really possible?

[Gal] At the most, threatening with the danger of restoration can only achieve momentary successes at our opponents' campaign meetings, but no serious political force can believe that this could happen in Hungary. We are part of and we endure world economic processes that we cannot much influence. People who want restoration here are simply fools. [passage omitted]

Democratic socialism is not an emphatic part of our written program, however, it has turned into a campaign issue because our political opponents have mentioned it so many times. The chairman of the Socialist International spoke about this during his recent visit to Hungary. The MSZP is part of this world movement, its politics are in accordance with this. We naturally represent the ideas of democratic socialism. In our view, democratic socialism means some kind of critical attitude to all that we call capitalism or social market economy. We start from the premise that this social system is not the best one. A world that carries an extreme amount of contradictions within society produces rich people and millions who are pushed to the periphery of society. We aim to continuously criticize and reform this system. [passage omitted]

[Kulin] I agree with Zoltan Gal in that it can only appear in campaign speeches that the MSZP's coming to government would mean restoration in the sense that the central planning system would be brought back and the political structure concomitant with this would be reborn. We are afraid of something completely different and we think that the MSZP's governing is dangerous and should be avoided. The transformation in Hungary and the changeover to the market economy indeed started in the socialist framework, before the change of the regime in 1990. The social basis of the changes was limited to a political-economic elite. If the elite of this period came to power, they would halt the process of bourgeois transformation in Hungary. The MSZP's basis today is an elite who were the recipients and beneficiaries of the last decade of socialism on one hand, the rest of them being Hungarian citizens living on wages and salaries who would vote for the MSZP purely on the basis of their sentiment for the socialist ideology. In other words, out of nostalgia rather than conscious choice. The political background supporting the MSZP is of a much worse quality than what is represented by the party's political elite. [passage omitted]

[Oszy-Toth] Various coalition speculations have been revealed before the elections. What are your views on the election chances of your parties and with whom would you form an alliance?

[Kover] I would not like to start guessing the chances because many things can happen under the current circumstances with still a month before the elections. A

good prediction now may prove completely wrong tomorrow. Naturally, I trust the effectiveness of the liberal agreement that was made by four parties, including the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz]. I also trust that this bloc, and the Fidesz within it, will be a determining force in the next coalition. As a matter of fact, the Fidesz's national committee or congress will decide on coalition matters. This does not mean that different views cannot exist within the Fidesz's board or party leadership as regards the coalition. [passage omitted]

[Gal] In my view, we would need a certain "grand coalition" in the social sense of the term. This means that the political forces should come to an agreement on certain basic issues. We spent the past four years questioning even each other's existence. I believe that these elections will make it clear that, in addition to the conservative-national and liberal views, the value system represented by the left-wing parties cannot be questioned in this country, either. I agree with Kover in that it would be too early to make guesses because we do not even know the results. We are preparing for governing in coalition and we accept the responsibility of governing. Our strategic goal is to replace the current coalition and to make it impossible to govern by ignoring us, as has been done in the past four years. I mainly see a possibility for cooperation with the liberal side. For me, a Christian democratic party or movement that approaches the problems in the way the pope does would be attractive. In my view, a coalition with a socialist, liberal, Christian democratic, and Christian social attitude would be feasible.

[Kulin] I find it important to emphasize two principles when assessing the coalition chances. We will not under any circumstances ally ourselves with extreme forces. However, we consider all parties that are sincere about the political struggle against the socialist alternative as potential coalition partners. I am very sorry that one month before the elections, groups that cannot clearly decide whether cooperation with the Socialists is a possibility for them still exist among the liberal political forces. In my view, the postponement of this decision spoils the historical chances of liberalism in Hungary.

Surjan Views Prospects of Christian Democrats

AU1204131894 Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 9 Apr 94 pp 108-114

[Interview with Laszlo Surjan, welfare minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, by Pal Reti; place and date not given: "Silence and Espousal"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Reti] Your party succeeded in causing a sensation last week with the privatization issue, which has become the party's number one campaign issue. Why is the leadership of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]—a party that wants to present itself as a careful center party—demanding a radical step like a complete and almost immediate stop of the privatization process?

[Surjan] This proposal is nothing else but to encourage some thoughtfulness. We are not particularly happy if a state enterprise is sold at a price that is four times higher than the declared price, like in the case of the Budapest Kozert because, in this case, the real value can be even ten times higher than the original price. The KDNP views on privatization are different from those of the other two coalition partners, but this in itself should not lead to the breaking of our friendship. The symbolic break of a few weeks in signing contracts between the last day of the current Parliament and the first day of the new Parliament can also be interpreted as a gesture to the Hungarian parliamentary life. However, I hope that no one will see the KDNP as a party that denies the need for privatization. [passage omitted]

[Reti] When it became clear that, contrary to its bigger coalition partner, the KDNP is basing its campaign on criticism, rather than mainly on the embellishment of the past four years, you often declared that you accept as much from the past as your share in the coalition. What is the acceptable one-seventh of the coalition of Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]-Smallholders' Party-KDNP?

[Surjan] One could also put this question even more nastily, namely whether we accept everything that is good and nothing that is bad. If the activity of this coalition is ever analyzed objectively, and not in the heat of the election campaign, the balance will clearly be positive. Take, for example, the poverty issue. The poorest 20 percent of Hungarian society has advanced as much as the richest 10 percent since 1988. The percentage of welfare expenses related to the GNP increased from 14 percent to 18 percent. Obviously, we had to withdraw these funds from production, and if we want a lasting development in the next four years, we will have to rethink the welfare distribution as well. [passage omitted]

[Reti] According to opinion polls that you do not value too highly, the KDNP was at the top in the fall of 1993. At that time the party "signed up" big names like former finance minister Ferenc Rabar, industry minister Janos Latorcai, and state secretary Pal Becker. Your party's popularity has been dropping since then. Have you, perhaps, started the campaign too early?

[Surjan] I would not like to send the "message" to opinion pollsters that I do not appreciate them, but it is a fact that they regarded us at around 2 percent in the previous elections. If the KDNP again gets three times as much as the "predicted" 4-8 percent, we will be in quite a good position. As for the early campaign, we had quite a good publicity in the fall of 1993; then, when our ways parted with the MDF, the KDNP began receiving less publicity in the media. Television reports on the party and me were not aired, and important events in the party

were not reported, or were reported insufficiently. All this is reflected in the opinion polls. [passage omitted]

[Reti] However, the KDNP has a good chance to overcome the changes. None of the parliamentary parties rejects the KDNP as a possible partner. As for your economic program—a "not hasty" privatization and a "social sensitivity"—it mostly resembles that of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. However, so far, KDNP leaders have only answered with disdain to the MSZP approaches and mentioned their "quilted jacket" past.

[Surjan] I can only rejoice at any common elements in any party's program, because this increases the chances of implementing these programs. However, the quilted jacket is a symbol, a symbol of the organization that continues to live in the MSZP and thus, it is a continuation of the Hungarian Communists' Party [MKP] and the Hungarian Workers' Party [MDP], but has not apologized for their crimes. At the same time, the MSZP is one of the most complex parties: It includes the national-populist Tabajdi, Annus, and Szuros, who played a positive role in the past too, but I do not know how they will be able to cooperate with the Hajdu-group; nor do I know how the liberal wing close to the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] will cooperate with the Sandor Nagy-group. In principle, a social democratic party is capable of partnership with both liberal and socialist parties. Therefore, this is not a principled rejection. But, the way many people questioned our real Christian democratic line until I was elected deputy chairman of the European Christian Democratic Union, the same way we can also say that the MSZP, which has only an observer status in the Socialist International, has not yet received a similar international legitimacy.

[Reti] Would you accept the position of prime minister in a government coalition in which a current opposition party has more votes than the KDNP?

[Surjan] Yes I would, but with certain conditions, namely to refrain from having to make unprincipled compromises for power. The new coalition must be functional with 55-60 percent of the votes.

[Reti] After some detours, the KDNP has again included the direct election of the president of the republic into its program. Who is your candidate?

[Surjan] The authority of the president of the republic is well formulated in Hungary today, and we do not want to broaden his authority. It is too early to nominate a candidate, but it is sure that the position requires a different person if he has to be accepted by the whole country through an election campaign, instead of only being elected by Parliament.

Poll Measures Unpopularity of Parties

AU1104185694 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Apr 94 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Undecided Voters With Antipathies"]

[Text] Before the elections, when deciding on which party to vote for, the voters apply both positive and negative considerations. Thus, they regard some parties as worthy of their votes and exclude others. However, at the end of this decision process, some kind of positive approach emerges in the actual voting, because voters do vote in favor of some party after all. According to the Szonda Ipsos opinion poll, 12 percent of the citizens only express their antipathy at the moment: They only name the parties for which they would definitely not vote, but they do not name the parties for which they might vote. We asked 3,000 people in February and March 1994, and we are only considering those of voting age now.

The exclusivity of party aversion is mainly characteristic of high school and university graduates, and 15 percent of each group mentioned a party they would definitely not vote for, and these have not formulated a clear sympathy either. The higher the educational level, the more people can be listed among those with party aversion. The same applies to the positive approach: The more educated they are, the more probable it is that they are sympathetic toward a certain party. We also found another characteristic among those who expressed their lack of preference: They can be found mostly in the towns (15 percent in Budapest and 13 percent in provincial towns), rather than in the villages (8 percent). However, we could find no age differences: This attitude is equally characteristic of old people, middle-aged people, and young people.

Some 29 percent of those who have a negative approach to the political parties regard the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] as the most disliked party. This list continues with the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], with 21 percent of the people rejecting it. The fourth on this negative "top list" is the Labor Party with 13 percent, closely followed by the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] with 12 percent. Few show any definite antipathy toward the other parties: 7 percent mentioned the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz], 6 percent the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP], 4 percent the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], and 2 percent the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. The negative preferences of the intelligentsia within this group slightly differ from the average: More intellectuals exclude the FGKP than the MDF.

No one in this group has a party preference that he would vote for, but this does not mean that these people will renounce their right to vote. Their willingness to vote is above average: Some 69 percent of these regard themselves as certain voters if the elections were held today, and 18 percent said they would probably vote. This considerable desire to vote will probably mean actual

participation in the elections in May. These people's election forecasts can provide some basis to the question of their actual voting preferences. Lacking a clear party preference, it is possible that they will vote for a party that they think will win the elections. Several people forecast the victory of two parties: Some 17 percent think that the SZDSZ will win, and 16 percent think that the MSZP will win. Only 7 percent think of the MDF and 5 percent the Fidesz as victors. As for the other parties, these give them minimal chances of victory. There is still a great deal of uncertainty in this group because 48 percent did not mention any party.

Therefore, this group of people with party aversion is a politically active group, and the current opposition parties can count heavily on their votes; but not so the government coalition parties.

Acquisition of Russian Military Gear Discussed

AU1204134194 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Apr 94 p 1

[Correspondent's report: "The S-300 Missile Is Coming—Military Equipment in Exchange for Debts"]

[Text] According to information from the diplomatic corps in Budapest, following the Russian prime ministers's recent visit to Hungary and the exchange of expert views, the chances of getting military technology from Russia in exchange for the outstanding Russian debt to Hungary have increased considerably. We are talking about armored personnel carriers, as the current stock of such carriers in Hungary has become obsolete.

In addition, we can also count on the S-300 air defense missile system. This is a system resembling the Patriot missiles used in the Gulf War. It transpires from the study recently published in MAGYAR HONVED [HUNGARIAN SOLDIER] that the updated version of this S-300 missile is capable of intercepting targets flying at a speed of 10,000 km/hour from a distance of 90-150 km. It can be used against both aircraft and missiles. Prior to the end of the Warsaw Pact, the first and relatively cheaper version of this system was exported to the CSSR and Bulgaria. Defense Ministry leaders repeatedly expressed their view that Hungary needs this missile system.

Reasons for NATO Strikes in B-H Examined

AU1304085294 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Apr 94 p 7

[Unattributed editorial: "Gorazde With Variations"]

[Text] We cannot yet know whether the NATO bombing on Monday [11 April], a repetition of the bombing on Sunday, at Gorazde is the start of regular aerial activity against the attacking Serbs or whether it was, once again, an isolated punitive action. Experience from wars indicates that a military situation cannot be decided solely by air power. Especially not when the military operation is limited to one or two bombs that happen to be dropped a day.

We also know from Hungarian history that a bit of bombing like this only helps the bombed side find an excuse to do something that it had not dared do before; however, it is not suitable for changing the existing intentions. The still unclear bombing [in 1942] of Kassa [Kosice, now in Slovakia] was an excellent opportunity for the Hungarian Government to declare war on the Soviet Union. One year later, when the British destroyed the Zilahy house on the Rose Hill [district in Budapest] with bombs, one thought that Budapest would quit the war—perhaps this was not the goal of the Brits anyway. In addition to this, precisely at this time, the Germans were marching an apparent irresistible force across the Russian steppe. However, the English bombing was very good for creating an Anglo-Saxon enemy image in Hungary.

When the United Nations, in the shape of NATO, began the aerial attacks on the Serbian artillery and tanks besieging the Bosnian towns, it was exactly two years late. A spectacular and shocking aerial attack would only have made sense, perhaps, at the very beginning of the Bosnian war. At that time, it might have been able to deter those who were eager to fight from the accidental unleashing of a war that many people had expected with absolute certainty. However, at that time, no UN resolutions or NATO preparations existed.

It is also questionable whether the current aerial attacks have any military purpose. The liberation of Gorazde and the other "protected areas," and that the Serbs suspend the military maneuvers aimed at occupying these areas, could be such a goal. This has little chance. If this is known in Budapest, it is obviously known in Brussels, New York, Aviano, and in the field. In that case, why are they bombing? We can risk saying that there are many reasons, but that none of them have much to do with establishing peace in Bosnia.

Teaching Karadzic and his followers a lesson may be a goal, because they have become far too "insolent." They had the audacity to launch an all-out attack on Gorazde when, after the decision on the Bosnian-Croatian federation in Bosnia and the confederation in Zagreb, it seemed that a prescription might be found for a peace system in the whole former Yugoslavia. Retaliation was needed for the disappointment. Perhaps it was also among the assumed that an effect would be that that the Serbs in Belgrade would give up their solidarity with their brethren in Bosnia. This did not happen.

It is also possible that they also wanted to roast Moscow a little bit. Although its unrequested involvement in the ultimatum situation in Sarajevo indeed helped progress, since then, Kozyrev and Co. have been saying a trifle too often that Russia continues to be a superpower, a major

power, that it cannot be excluded, and so on. Perhaps, it had to be shown that the earth can continue to move without it.

Finally, the fact that the bombing at Gorazde was again a CNN spectacular cannot be ignored. The U.S. public recently again began to demand, more emphatically, that "we should at last do something definite" in Bosnia. On the morning of 10 April, the pictures of the determined action arrived in U.S. homes.

Editorial Views Activity of NATO AWACS

AU1304104194 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Apr 94 p 3

[Editorial by Endre Aczel: "AWACS Dilemma"]

[Text] Now that a NATO air strike was delivered against the attacking Serbs in the area of Gorazde in Bosnia, albeit a very limited air strike, I find it essential to remind the readers that this was the second time that the AWACS aircraft (also) patrolling the Hungarian air space helped NATO in its combat activity in Bosnia. The difference now is that, on 10 April, the Hungarian Defense Ministry in Budapest acknowledged the fact that there were AWACS aircraft in Hungarian airspace on the day of the attack; as for the attack carried out a few weeks ago, there were only speculation that the reconnaissance planes flying in the Hungarian airspace were the first to notice the appearance of the two Serbian Galeb aircraft downed over Bosnia.

In other words, we lost our "innocence" earlier, irrespective of Prime Minister Peter Boross' promise to preserve it, a promise made during his international news conference on 11 February.

Let us stop for a moment at this point. We should answer the question of whether the prime minister made a hasty declaration and an impossible promise or not.

I can say that Hungary's effort to keep away from the armed conflict in Bosnia is a fully legitimate and correct effort. Hungary's direct national interest requires this, irrespective of whether it is aiming at NATO membership or not. (Regarding the weight of the national interest, let me bring up the example of the NATO-member Greece, which, out of fear for its territory, placed Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] under a boycott, although this is precisely the post-Yugoslav republic that blocks the possible spreading of the flames of the Yugoslav conflict to Greece and, subsequently, to NATO territory).

On the other hand, once the Hungarian Government (under Jozsef Antall) allowed the AWACS aircraft into Hungary, it obviously must have been aware of the fact that its patrolling activity will be a constant one. In others words, this mission could lose its goal if it had to constantly report to Budapest about the hostile activity in Bosnia and ask permission for NATO participation in fighting against this development. This is an absurd situation. Budapest is definitely not present in the "chain of command" linking the UN forces in Bosnia, the UN secretary general (or his emissary), and NATO.

However, I would like to point out Boross' presumed dilemma, which must have led to his incriminated declaration disapproved of by NATO circles. This is a real dilemma, because the appearance of the AWACS was connected to the UN decision on banning the use of Bosnian airspace. Thus Hungary took, and is taking part, in implementing this decision. This is why the downing of the aforementioned Galeb aircraft did not cause any problem. However, as far as I know, this UN decision did not affect the (civil) war being waged on the land and did not include sanctions in the case of an attack against Muslim enclaves declared as UN-protected areas, like Gorazde. In other words, this must have come up in the Hungarian Government, and Boross also expressed it, namely that the surveillance activity authorized by him only referred to a single UN decision, and it cannot be used for other purposes, without special permission.

Could this have been made clear at the time? In principle, yes. But not in practice. Once they are airborne, the reconnaissance aircraft observe what they have been ordered to do: Everything. They report what they see. Budapest cannot order them to carry out a "selective view," namely to ensure the airspace boycott but refrain from directing the attacking planes. Therefore, if there was such a thing at all, the dilemma is real.

Official on Trade With Former CEMA Countries

AU1104200594 Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 7 Apr 94 pp 3, 4 Foreign Trade Supplement

[Interview with Lajos Berenyi, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, by Agnes G. Barta; place and date not given: "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance Foreign Trade—Conditions Becoming Settled"]

[Text] Our trade relations are developing well with the former CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] countries, in spite of the extremely difficult economic conditions that can be found in certain places, according to Lajos Berenyi, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of International Economic Relations [NGKM].

[Barta] In the past four years, the NGKM has often been criticized for our trade not being sufficient with the countries of our region.

[Berenyi] This opinion can be strongly disputed in view of the facts. With the region's countries, we switched over to applying the conditions normally used in world trade in our economic relations on 1 January 1991. The introduction of free currency accounting meant that the economic performance of the region's countries was measured by world market requirements. It was obvious to everyone that a whole range of products would not live up to these requirements and, as a result, the artificially inflated bilateral trade of the CEMA period

quickly began to decline. This decline was made worse by the increasing economic crises among our partners, especially in the Soviet Union of the time. The Hungarian Government's efforts were aimed at stopping the decline in trade and establishing new types of economic relations that have a future and are in accordance with modern times.

According to the statistics, the decline in trade with Russia was relatively small, only 40 percent, while this reached or even exceeded 60 percent with the other CEMA countries. As early as 1990, the Hungarian Government and members of the business community made a conscious effort also to prepare enterprises for the changes. We signed agreements with almost all the Soviet republics on promoting economic and trade relations. In the meantime, naturally, the enterprises also took up contact with their partners, and so we managed to reduce the shock effects that resulted from the decline. A year later, in 1992, we managed to achieve increasing foreign trade turnover with the successor states of the Soviet Union.

[Barta] In spite of this, many Hungarian enterprises that had mainly produced for the Soviet market and were unable to change in time, went bankrupt. However, this is the past. What is the situation now?

[Berenyi] I think that we have reason for some optimism because Russia now is Hungary's second largest trade partner after Germany. In 1993, trade with Russia amounted to $3.4 billion. Raw materials and energy resources are still the leading products. Even now, almost all our crude oil and natural gas needs are satisfied from here. In terms of Hungarian exports, Russia is a huge market. Hungarian enterprises continue to be present, although they are aware that the solvency of Russian enterprises is unsure and this situation cannot be expected to change in the near future, so it is essential to specify adequate payment assurances. Although our exports have decreased as a whole, the export of machines and processed agricultural and food industry products have started to increase dynamically. It is clear that demand for Hungarian products is much greater than the effective demand. It also has to be mentioned that, from a distance, the Russian laws appear to be rather confusing, but they are much clearer for those who are already present on the market, and they offer several possibilities. Recognizing this, Hungarian entrepreneurs are establishing an ever increasing number of joint ventures in manufacturing and trade. Hungarian enterprises are maintaining representations and our trade representation has set up sub-offices in Bashkiria, Tatarstan, and in the territories beyond the Urals. In spite of all our efforts, it would be vain to believe that it is possible to achieve anything more than a modest 5 to 10 percent export increase in the coming years.

[Barta] What is the situation with the other member states and the republic?

[Berenyi] Partly because of the common border, Ukraine is very important to us. In 1992 and 1993, our foreign trade turnover amounted to $300-350 million. Relations with Subcarpathia are improving and an increasing number of Hungarian enterprises are present in Kiev, where we have trade representation. Ukraine is also important for us because of the natural gas and crude oil pipelines. Out of the other republics, I have to mention Kazakhstan because of our project in Tengiz and their purchase of our agricultural systems. Uzbekistan is similarly important; we delivered goods to the value of $40 million in 1993. Turkmenistan is rich in natural resources. Our economic links with Belarus and Moldova expanded promisingly in 1993, just as with the Baltic states.

[Barta] Trade with the Visegrad four has also declined, although the Central European Free Trade Agreement [CEFTA] may significantly boost relations.

[Berenyi] Our annual foreign trade amounts to nearly $1 billion with Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. One can say that this is a nice figure but it can also be increased. This is one of the reasons we signed CEFTA in 1992, which came into force in March 1993 and the legislatures of all states expect Poland have ratified it.

Because of the shortness of time, it would be difficult to prove the effects of the agreement in the second half of 1993 with statistical data; however, it is a fact that almost half of the trade of industrial products became duty free, and this is a significant advantage, even compared with the most favored status treatment. We are continuously modernizing the CEFTA agreement to reduce the tariffs further. We will completely remove duty on industrial products by 2000, and we are also planning considerable changes in the case of agricultural products. We will probably sign the the supplementary agreement in Budapest in the second half of 1994. With Slovakia, bilateral links on the level of enterprises are very lively, and this is a good opportunity for small and medium-sized enterprises, whose activities the NGKM supports in every way. The Czech Republic is also a traditional market for us, as our trade with them is somewhat bigger than with Slovakia, and in our daily work, it is our experience that, on both the entrepreneurial and the governmental levels, they are interested in further developing bilateral links. After the prior decline, our trade with Poland increased by 14 to 15 percent in 1993. We have to recognize that these countries have keen competition in agricultural products and consumer goods because, like us, they have made association agreements with the European Union and the European Free Trade Association. Therefore, the Hungarian exporters have serious competitors on these markets.

During the transformation, it was also a major task to establish relations with the Yugoslav successor republics. We have now done this. Hungarian exports to Slovenia approached $150 million in 1993 and we reached a significant trade surplus. In addition to this, we have drawn up a free trade agreement similar to the CEFTA agreement. We also have good relations with Croatia

although our trade has decreased a little. In addition to foreign trade, these countries are also important for us because of tourism and transit routes. Serbia is a painful loss to our foreign trade; we have had to accept a $1.3 billion loss because of the embargo. Relations with Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] are promising, the value of Hungarian exports is from $20 million to $30 million per year. The Yugoslav embargo is also making an impact on our trade in the Balkans: Our trade with Bulgaria and Albania have continued to decrease. Nevertheless, we do not want to give up the market opportunities in these two countries. We can assess our economic links with Romania positively, with the value of Hungarian exports at $200 million in 1993. We have a trade surplus. The number of Hungarian enterprises registered in Romania exceeds 1,000.

[Barta] Owing to the change to dollar accounting, there are huge amounts owed to us by the former CEMA countries. Have these been settled in the past four years?

[Berenyi] Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia have settled most of their former debts. The same can also be said of Romania. Bulgaria has not yet started to repay its debts. Russia, which has taken on the debts of the former Soviet Union, repaid half of its $1.7 billion debt in 1993 through military industrial deliveries. Talks are under way on the second installment. The remaining amount will be repaid between 1994 and 1996 at 3.5-percent interest. They will partly pay with goods but we are also discussing the possibility to use some of this amount for Russian privatization or in establishing joint ventures.

Oleksy Questions NATO Air Strikes

OW1304100294 Tokyo KYODO in English 0948 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] Tokyo, April 13 KYODO—Jozef Oleksy, speaker of Poland's Sejm or lower chamber in the National Assembly, Wednesday [13 April] questioned the ability of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to prevent Serbian forces from continuing attacks against Bosnian Muslims.

Speaking at the Japan National Press Club, Oleksy, vice chairman of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP), said, "our question is whether NATO's air raids can have any effectiveness as a warning against Serbia."

Oleksy is a political rival of Polish President Lech Walesa. Oleksy, a former communist cabinet minister in charge of trade unions, opposed Walesa's Solidarity prodemocracy movement until the SDRP's predecessor, the Polish United Workers' Party, was ousted from power by the Solidarity-led coalition government.

Oleksy's remarks came two days after NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner warned Bosnian Serbs not to retaliate in the aftermath of air strikes against Serbian forces besieging the Bosnian enclave of Gorazde.

NATO jets, in two rounds of air raids Sunday and Monday, destroyed Serbian tanks and armored personnel carriers, the first NATO bombing raids on ground positions in the organization's 45-year history.

"The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is evidence that the European security system does not have the ability to resolve wars stemming from ethnic disputes," said Oleksy, who is visiting Tokyo at the invitation of the House of Representatives.

However, he voiced some support for the air strikes, saying, "although it may be hard to support the air raids unconditionally, sometimes we should not avoid invoking military means in view of the uncompromising attitudes of (Serbian) fighters and the complicated situation."

He also expressed a desire to see NATO accept Poland as a full member. Poland is now only qualified to join NATO meetings under the "Partnership for Peace" scheme pushed by the U.S. administration of President Bill Clinton and the 16-nation alliance.

The partnership scheme is designed to draw former Warsaw Pact adversaries closer to NATO without guaranteeing such countries would receive NATO defense if attacked by an enemy.

Russia has balked at proposals to give full NATO membership to Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, while expressing interest in joining the partnership.

Coalition-Walesa Dispute Over Rosati Continues

WS1204145494 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by J.B.L.: "Rosati in Several Months"]

[Text] The leaders of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] still believe that, in direct negotiations, they will be able to persuade the president to change his mind about the nomination of Dariusz Rosati for deputy prime minister and finance minister. Lech Walesa's spokesman says that a meeting with the coalition will be possible if it submits a new candidate.

SLD Spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski said that the coalition insists on the candidacy of Professor Rosati because Poland cannot afford to lose such a competent man. Asked about the arguments Waldemar Pawlak and Aleksander Kwasniewski may use in their meeting with Walesa, he said that it may concern constitutional law and political custom. He would not, however, answer the question of whether the president might be threatened with amending the Small Constitution, so that the coalition would be able to neutralize the presidential veto—for example, by rejecting it in a vote by the Sejm, as happens in the case of other laws.

Aleksander Kwasniewski stated: "We will tell the president that he is a very good candidate, that his behavior in recent days has shown that he is a responsible and serious man. I think we will have to think about how the traps of the Small Constitution can be avoided; however, this is only one of the subjects of the meeting. We will not avoid a discussion on amending the Small Constitution because this is also required by the proposed change in the formula of the National Security Council." The SLD leader also said that he and Prime Minister Pawlak are waiting for a meeting with the president and that they are hoping that it will be held within the next few days.

It is possible that what the coalition wants is not to amend the Small Constitution, which would take several months, but only to use this argument in the meeting with Lech Walesa. However, if this argument does not yield any effect, the nomination of Rosati might be possible following the period that is needed to amend Article 68 of the Small Constitution. This would explain his statement that the issue may become topical again in a few months' time.

The suggestion by yesterday's GAZETA WYBORCZA that Marek Borowski may return to the post of deputy prime minister does not seem very likely. The Belweder would perhaps be prepared to accept this candidacy; however, it is very unlikely that Borowski would be able to cooperate harmoniously with Prime Minister Pawlak. Their cooperation was not very good the last time, all the more so because the former deputy prime minister

criticized the head of the government after his resignation, saying that he had only one face. His comeback, though not entirely impossible, seems very unlikely today.

If the guess is right that the coalition is trying to force the president to accept the nomination of Rosati, the statement by Leszek Miller that there is a new candidate would be merely a smokescreen. Perhaps the SLD and the PSL want to wait for the president to sign the budget law and only then decide on a serious, as it seems, war with the Belweder concerning the limitation of presidential powers. Another solution is also possible: Having "softened" the president with Rosati, the coalition will propose someone else.

Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told a PAP journalist yesterday that a meeting of coalition leaders with the president would be possible only when it submits a new candidate for deputy prime minister and finance minister. He added that the coalition should exhibit "a new look at things, a new approach."

Drzycimski stated that Walesa had not yet decided whether or not to sign the budget law because "he still has the time allowed by the Constitution; he is thinking about it." The president should sign the law within 30 days of 28 March.

Rapport Between Walesa, Right Wing Viewed

WS1204134594 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Igor Zalewski: "Will Right Wing Be Walesa's Artificial Limb?" under the "Analysis" rubric]

[Text] The right wing is facing a strategic choice. The decision it will make regarding the presidency will not only determine the camp's immediate victory or defeat but also define the right wing's form and future.

The right wing has two possible choices: It can either seek agreement with the camp associated with the Democratic Union [UD] and the Liberal-Democratic Congress and strive to come up with a joint, compromise-based candidate in the presidential elections, or unite around Lech Walesa again. On a party level, that would also mean an alliance with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. Peasant activists will most probably have their own candidate for the Belweder Palace, but, until such an official candidate is named, Walesa will try to avoid alienating a potential ally who could lend his popularity to the currently unpopular head of state.

While deciding on one of the above-mentioned options, the right wing will also choose the part of the political scene it wants to occupy, and with whom it wants to rule Poland in the future (of course, such are its aspirations): With Waldemar Pawlak, Michal Strak, and Jacek Soska, or with Bronislaw Geremek, Jan Rokita, and Donald Tusk?

Sympathies of right-wing politicians are diversified. It is easier to predict the future of the liberal coalition made up of the Union for Real Politics, the Conservative Party, the Peasant-Christian Party, the Party of Christian Democrats, and the Democratic-National Party because any kind of rapprochement between the coalition and the PSL is impossible for program reasons. But, on the other hand, this bloc (known as the Accord of 11 November) also includes politicians who continue to believe in Lech Walesa's lucky star. Despite many bitter disappointments, they would most certainly be willing to place their bets on this quite worn-out and uncertain card.

But support for Walesa's candidacy is regarded as a last resort by the Accord of 11 November, while sympathies for him are treated as a rather shameful trait. One party declares unofficially—in a whisper and in secret—that there is still some love for Walesa glowing in another party. The other party, in the meantime, says the same thing—in a contemptuous tone—about the first party. There is no one daring to admit openly his like for the current president. That is even more so because the little whispers are being efficiently jammed by determinant and tough declarations by Aleksander Hall, the conservatives' leader, who, ever since the "war at the top," remains Lech Walesa's vigorous critic.

It was precisely Hall who was one of the first activists to initiate a campaign for the sake of a broad agreement among Solidarity-derived forces and who has been calling for the "After-August [1980] Poland" to come up with a joint presidential candidate. And, according to Hall, Walesa cannot be the one, if only because he makes a bad president, but also, which is of importance, as well, because he has no chance for reelection.

It is quite a different story with the other right-wing bloc, which comprises the Center Accord [PC], the Christian-National Union [ZChN], the Movement for the Republic, the Peasant Accord, and the Conservative Coalition [KK]. On the face of it, the issue is less complicated in this case: The camp is driven by anti-Walesa moods that spread from the PC and are gladly taken up by the other parties. This right-wing dislike of Walesa can be easily explained. In statements by politicians of this side of the political spectrum, who, after all, contributed to Walesa's taking over his post in the past, disappointment with his actions is prevalent. They continue to hold it against him that he strengthened the left wing and weakened the right, that he betrayed his election program, that he approved and expanded on the principle of a "thick line," and that he is looking for support among remnants of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] power apparatus.

The right wing list of accusations against Walesa is long, and it seemed that the Belweder's cooperation with the "screwups" [Walesa's description of right-wing activists] is just an unrealistic fantasy. But, faced with the coming presidential election, Walesa began to look vigorously for allies: He vehemently attacks the postcommunists,

and he mentions a need for decommunization and file-checking. For the moment, the right wing ignores the president and pretends that it is not at all interested in the Belweder's occupant because it is aware of the bankruptcy the previous investment in Walesa resulted in.

But there is a trait in many people of the right wing that could push them right into the incumbent president's arms again: an obsessive hatred of UD. This hatred is sometimes the main driving force of political action, and sometimes it is even an indicator of "being right-wing." Such right-wing politicians as Slawomir Siwek (who used to be in the PC) and the ZChN's Jan Lopuszanski long ago called for the establishment of an anticommunist and anti-UD front based on the Belweder. But, back then, Walesa contemptuously ignored the proposals. Now he is making an attempt to revive sympathy for himself (which has waned significantly) among right-wing men. Reluctance to UD may be helpful in that regard; this is even more so because, even now, some right-wing politicians (who, it is true, are active on the margins of the coalition of the "five") have been declaring slogans for a return to Walesa's bosom, accompanied by the spread of anti-UD banners. But a majority of right-wing leaders (among others, PC President Jaroslaw Kaczynski, a majority of ZChN politicians, and KK's Kazimierz Ujazdowski) are absolute opponents of such a scenario.

The implementation of the scenario in practice would bring about serious and long-term consequences. First of all, it would turn out that the Polish right wing does not exist as a subject on its own, while, without a battering ram like Walesa, it is not capable of scoring a political victory. This would reduce the right wing's role to one of an imitation, a dummy, or an artificial limb that can be used to lean on when there is a need, instead of a serious camp capable of political and ideological influence over Poland. The right wing would mean nothing without Walesa.

Second, right-wing voters could feel confused and could say: First we are called on to support Walesa, then we are told repeatedly that he is evil incarnated and a traitor, and then, in the end, we are to support him again. What is this all about? Have the wounds that were inflicted on the right wing in political battles with the president healed completely? Will Walesa not lead us astray this time? These are questions they could ask, and quite justifiably.

Some right-wing politicians also think it is the PSL that would be their best partner for a future ruling of the country; Walesa would also see the PSL in his camp willingly. While praising the "Christian-Democratic" and national aspects of the PSL, the party's admirers fail to perceive its weaknesses. The right wing would have to pay with economic concessions in return for an alliance with PSL activists: Centralist and state-control tendencies would most certainly score a triumph in the economy.

But, first of all, it is precisely the PSL, along with the Democratic Left Alliance, that has been defending the legacy of the PRL period particularly willingly, and they are also the ones that have been attacking especially aggressively the accomplishments of the four years of Solidarity-derived governments (in the latter aspect, the PSL is definitely even "better" than the postcommunists themselves). It is Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak who surrounds himself with Polish United Workers Party apparatchiks, whom the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic tries to hide particularly well in the vast areas of its premises. It is PSL politicians who have been comparing the post-1989 years with the Nazi occupation. The anticommunist right wing should keep that in mind.

Walesa's Fight To Regain Former Electorate

WS1204165994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Apr 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski: "Lech Walesa Will Fight; Advantages of the President"]

[Text] Recent opinion polls on the popularity of politicians have been very unfavorable to Lech Walesa. Sixty percent of the respondents to the opinion poll carried out by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] a month ago believed that his decisions weakened the state; 17 percent were of the opposite opinion. In another poll carried by CBOS two weeks ago, 5 percent of the respondents pointed at Walesa as the best candidate for president; Kwasniewski received 17 percent and Pawlak 10 percent.

Lech Walesa will fight for the electorate. Even if he does not run in the presidential elections, he would certainly like to vacate the post with good ratings. If he manages to increase his popularity quite noticeably, if he has solid reasons to believe that he might win the election, he will run.

During his term in office, Walesa plucked up the courage to make unpopular decisions; he probably knew in advance that they would not increase the number of his supporters in the traditional electorate—among dissatisfied people. He might have expected that, instead of that, he would gain new supporters among people advocating market reforms, among those who "took matters into their own hands." It seems that Walesa attempted to "change" his electorate and replace the "negative" electorate with "positive" voters.

Now, toward the end of his presidency, it is clear that he has not made it. He lost a lot among the former and did not gain much among the latter. The same holds true of the political sphere: As he lost his rightist electorate, no new leftist supporters appeared. Today, there is no substantial group that, because of its material situation, interests, or views, would be mostly pro-Walesa.

Most probably, over a year before the election, Walesa decided to fight for his former electorate—the dissatisfied people. Discussing the budget law, he recently wondered: "The question arises what is more important to the reforms—'mathematical problems' or the understanding of the people." This may mean that he will be less inclined to make decisions this group might not like.

The dissatisfied are now favoring the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], the Polish Peasant Party, the Union of Labor, and Solidarity. Many of those people do not define their political preferences and do not go to the polls.

Walesa won the sympathy of trade unions by vetoing the new popiwek [tax on excessive wage increases] law. It is not known, however, to what extent it really reflects the moods of employees.

Why is Walesa speaking about the return of communism, about Stalin as Kwasniewski's idol? Among other reasons, because some of the votes supporting the SLD were cast not by staunch supporters of this group but by people who were dissatisfied with the reforms that had been carried out before. Lech Walesa would now like to win them over to his side.

The slogan "Down with communism" may still be an effective political weapon. Part of society will forgive a consistent spokesman of such a slogan many mistakes. However, will Walesa manage to achieve that? The people Walesa might win over with this slogan may remember his strengthening of the left pillar; some of them even accuse him of collaborating with the Security Service as an agent named "Bolek."

There is still a long way to the election, and Walesa may be retrieving the points he has lost. He is the president and has much greater possibilities than any other candidate will have. On the other hand, this is also a fundamental obstacle. Other candidates will be able to present their voters with a vision of the future without any limitations. Walesa is being carefully observed by the mass media, and he may always be accused of making a populist decision. Such decisions may be more of an obstacle than an advantage for him.

Walesa Spokesman on Budget Law, Local Elections

LD1304100294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0832 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Apr—Presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said on Wednesday on Radio Three that Lech Walesa had decided to sign the budget law because he believed that, "at this moment and in this situation, Poland needs stabilization and a signal for the Western partners with whom we cooperate that we are a country that is taking a grave risk but, at the same time, is trying to bring about political stabilization by introducing legal norms."

"It has been a difficult decision because we already know today that the budget law will not be fully implemented. President Walesa hopes that modifications will be introduced during the course of the budget year. This need is probably also perceived by the authors of the law," Drzycimski pointed out. He added that the president does not rule out the possibility of filing a complaint with regard to the budget with the Constitutional Tribunal. However, he will acquaint himself with experts' opinions and legal analyses beforehand.

One of the reasons the president wants to veto the parish local government law is that this law comes into force during the course of the election campaign, Drzycimski said. "This law does not resolve many problems; generally, it does not resolve anything, and, in fact, it introduces more chaos," he said.

The president wants to talk to the coalition but not about the past, Drzycimski said. "The issue involving Rosati belongs to the past, in the president's opinion. This matter has been closed, and there is no need to return to it. If the coalition puts forward a new candidate, a meeting will certainly take place," Drzycimski added.

Walesa Signs Budget Law

LD1204184494 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] President Lech Walesa today signed the law on the 1994 budget. This information was passed on to us by the president's Press Office staff. The president previously criticized the budget, which had been passed by the Sejm, for not taking into account social expectations and particularly for failing to keep the promises given by the government parties during the course of last year's election campaign.

Today's decision was preceded by consultations the president conducted among various circles. Andrzej Drzycimski, press spokesman for the Belweder, recently explained that Walesa had asked the question whether to sign or not to sign many times and had received various answers.

The government coalition argued that the president could not refuse to sign the budget, which had been adopted by the government and passed by parliament, because this would be against state interests.

At a meeting of the Council for Local Government Affairs at the Belweder, the president announced that he intends to veto the electoral law for parish councils. He said he will be prepared to accept the law, provided the local government elections are postponed until next year.

[begin Walesa recording] My assessment of local government is quite good or even very good. For this reason, in this complicated situation, I wanted to postpone the election for a year, but it has not worked. The coalition wants to have its own people. This is normal. That is why, no matter what I do, I will not have time to make

another move. If I had another two months, I could do it. There was social pressure. They are not strong enough not to change their minds. But I do not have enough time. My only possibility is the electoral law, whether it should be the old one or the new one. I am convinced that the new one should not be introduced.

Now, either changes are introduced, or I will insist on my veto of the new law. They will not have time to introduce changes. The choice will be either to change the law and postpone it for a year, or retain the old electoral law. [end recording]

[Announcer] The council supported the president's position. Let me remind you that the council's members are representatives of local government assemblies and the Union of Polish Cities, as well as academics and parliament members responsible for local government affairs.

SLD: No Need To Postpone Local Elections

LD1304084794 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0600 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, press spokesman for the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], has said that there is no need to postpone local government elections. He has described as a political game the president's announcement that he will veto the local government electoral law unless the coalition agrees to a postponement of the local government elections until next year.

[Begin Siemiatkowski recording] Delaying the elections means that 1995 would be dominated only by elections. Let me point out that we think the presidential elections and a referendum approving the Constitution must be held in 1995.

Adding the local government elections to these would result in a situation where we would not have time in Poland for anything but elections. The president, by bringing about this situation and moving the constitutional deadlines connected with elections, is creating a very dangerous precedent. We can start discussing the duration of other terms in office in Poland that could perhaps be cut short or extended. [end recording]

SLD leader Aleksander Kwasniewski has said that he does not understand the president's motives. According to Kwasniewski, Poland needs a stable political calendar; hence, the local government elections should be held on the dates already fixed.

Tasks for New Committee of Defense Affairs

LD1204190894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] The government has decided to set up a committee for defense affairs attached to the Council of Ministers. The new committee will be chaired by the prime minister, with the minister of national defense as his deputy. Committee members include deputy prime ministers, the ministers of internal affairs, foreign affairs, finance, industry, and foreign economic cooperation, and the heads of the Council of Ministers Office and the Central Planning Office.

According to National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk, the committee should, above all, deal with reforming the command structures to bring them closer to West European standards.

[begin Kolodziejczyk recording] In brief, it will mean the departure from the existing command structures, the setting up of the post of the commander in chief of the Polish Army, and land, air, and naval forces commanders subordinated to him.

The next important issue the committee should deal with is to put in order the legal foundations for the functioning of the ministry and the Army. Here I would give priority to the deep and long-ranging amendments to the law on the public defense duty, which first of all should introduce a division of powers between the civilian minister of national defense and the commander in chief, or, for the time being, the head of the General Staff of the Polish Army. It is also necessary to regulate a number of other matters, which are outdated in the present reality and are even hampering all progress. [end recording]

Moldovan Ratification of CIS Documents Noted

AU1204121894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Text] The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has faxed us the following communique:

We have taken note, from reports circulated by the media, of the fact that the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova has ratified certain documents on adherence to the CIS.

In connection with this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will announce its position after examining the respective official documents with the purpose of assessing their possible implications for the bilateral agreements concluded by the two independent Romanian states, the communique received from Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs points out.

Deputies Want To Reaffirm Right to Bessarabia

AU1204122394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpts] During today's session of the Romanian Senate, Senator Ioan Alexandru of the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] read out a declaration regarding the recent vote in the Chisinau parliament that endorsed the Republic of Moldova's joining the CIS and regarding, quote, the ambiguous reaction of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to that adherence, unquote.

The declaration states that the vote of the Chisinau parliament reconfirms the criminal pact by which Bessarabia was torn away from Romania in 1941 and it annuls the indefeasible right of the Romanian nation to a part of its territory. Alexandru presented the declaration as one issued by the Romanian Parliament, but the chairman of today's session, Senate Deputy Speaker Valer Suian, stated that to be properly endorsed by the law-making body the declaration ought to be debated and passed by the two chambers. As a result of this, Senator Ioan Alexandru's declaration was considered a personal one that merely represents a possible suggestion made to the Romanian Parliament. [passage omitted]

During today's plenary session of the Chamber of Deputies the representatives also discussed issues that were not included in today's agenda, the principal one being the situation in Moldova after the Chisinau parliament's vote in favor of joining the CIS. In that context PNTCD Deputy Petre Dugulescu suggested that the Chamber of Deputies adopt a declaration by which the Romanian Parliament would declare in front of the whole world that the Romanian nation's right to a part of its territory is an indefeasible and inalienable one, and that no act contradicting that right can be valid as an international regulation.

The declaration is to be adopted if it is approved of by the Foreign Policy Commission. [passage omitted]

Moldova's Sangheli Disputes 'Disinterested Aid'

AU1304101494 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 Apr 94 p 9

[Article by Tana Ardeleanu and Elena Tumulescu: "Moldovan Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli Attacks—Romania Has Not Given Us Even a Pencil for Free"]

[Text] Moldova's Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli made a shocking declaration on Radio Chisinau that is meant to put an end to the misunderstandings regarding the possible association of Moldova with Romania. Mr. Sangheli stated: "No matter how strange it would seem to you, we are fed up with the misery and intrigues published by the press, which keep telling us that Romania has allegedly granted us disinterested aid. In the past two years, Romania has not given us even a pencil for free. I would like to tell you that, in fact, Romania did not respect its commitments and is not a correct economic partner for Moldova. As far as political aspects are concerned, I do not even want to talk about them." The declaration was made in the Russian language, shortly after Andrei Sangheli chaired a government meeting devoted to the issue of relations with the CIS. The government spokesman, Ion Rosca, refused to comment on the Moldovan prime minister's statements.

[Romanian Presidency Spokesman] Traian Chebeleu rejected Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli's declarations and noted that "the affirmations do not correspond with reality and I hope that, through the Romanian Embassy in Chisinau, we will receive the necessary clarifications on the viewpoints expressed."

Danger of Moscow's Renewed Influence Examined

AU1204111394 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 6 Apr 94 p 2

[Dinu C. Giurescu commentary: "Romanian-Russian Military Accord"]

[Text] On 28 March the Russian minister of national defense, Army General Pavel Grachev, arrived in Romania. During his visit he signed a military accord between the two countries. The accord includes several domains of cooperation: technical cooperation, the training of expert cadres, operational cooperation, cooperation in the medical and military history domains, and so on.

Romanian officials noted that the recently signed document is similar to the ones concluded by Romania with other states.

At his 30 March news conference Army General Pavel Grachev made a number of statements that should be noted:

a) "Russia," he said, "recognizes the sovereign right of every state to choose its own way, but it reserves the right to influence in a civilized way those evolutions that concern its own security."

Romanian public opinion can remember very well that in the name of its own security the Soviet Government imposed communist regimes in all central-eastern and southeastern European countries. Those regimes were born in 1944-1945 and ended in 1989.

Also perfectly well known are the armed involvement in November 1956 in Hungary and in August 1968 in Czechoslovakia, and currently the 14th Army's presence and action on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, merely 100 km from its border with Romania.

The concept of "influencing in a civilized way those evolutions that concern its own security" can lead any time to most comprehensive and direct involvements in the affairs of the neighboring countries.

b) At the same news conference Army General Pavel Grachev also stated: "Throughout its history Russia has never attacked anyone, never conquered anyone, but rather merely defended itself, as it was always the attacked party."

That assertion baffles all people having some knowledge of history. It makes Romanian citizens and those of the neighboring countries even more fearful and suspicious, as they recall their not-so-long-ago history.

However, the importance of the visit of Minister Pavel Grachev lies in the fact that it highlighted one of Romania's essential issues: its relations with Russia.

To have good and stable relations with Russia is a sine qua non condition. However, Romania's renewed dependence—even if it is a "civilized" one—upon that Eastern superpower cannot be accepted, nor repeated any more. Be it "civilized" or not, dependence still means submission.

The Romanian delegation conducting the talks with Army General Pavel Grachev reminded him, and did so rightly, that Romania opposes all theories intended to divide Europe into spheres of influence.

However, that is not the end of the story.

In Romania there are groups that politically incline toward the East. They directly manifested themselves when the friendship and cooperation treaty with the USSR was elaborated and initialed in April 1991.

Those groups are also supported [by parties]. The left-wing and the nationalist-communist parties attract, according to recent IRSOP [Romanian Institute for Public Opinion] polling and IMAS [Applied Media Research Institute] polls, about 20-21 percent of the electorate.

The domestic groups pursuing Romania's alignment to the East are acting within the somewhat confused situation in which the central-eastern and southeastern European countries find themselves with respect to their political and military security.

Pursuit of Russian Arms Purchases Continues

AU1304101094 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by Oana Stanciulescu: "Russia Will Continue To Deliver Arms to Romania"]

[Text] On the occasion of the visit that Russian General Pavel Grachev paid to Bucharest, Romania and Russia agreed to continue with the delivery of spare parts for the three types of military technology in which we are still dependent on the ex-Soviet industry, namely radar, air-to-air missiles, and air force, government sources informed us. However, Russia was not successful in its efforts to sell us artillery technology and armored vehicles. As far as armored vehicles are concerned, General Grachev was taken to witness a military drill of an armored unit to shatter any illusions he nurtured in this area.

Nevertheless, Romania shows interest in purchasing air force equipment. Romania is counting on the McConnel Amendment to the draft federal budget of the United States for 1995, which represents the legal basis for loans and military assistance promised to our country by the United States when Romania joined the Partnership for Peace.

Roman Views Reform, Ties With PDSR

AU1304104594 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 Apr 94 p 3

[Interview with Petre Roman, president of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front), by Roxana Badralexi; place and date not given: "Can We Ignore the Danger to or Posed by the President and his People?"]

[Text] [Badralexi] Mr. Roman, do you know President Ion Iliescu well?

[Roman] I thought I knew him well, but I received a surprise. Of course, the surprise was only as far as I was concerned. I thought we had the same political beliefs and the same human features. But I had to ascertain that my trust in him was not justified.

[Badralexi] Do you think it possible that he once uttered the words: "I cannot leave the political scene now, because the others will put me in jail"?

[Roman] Anyone might say words like that at a time of political discord. Maybe some people feared such a thing at a certain point in time when the vindictive feature was very strong in Romanian society. Now, I consider such a statement to be pointless, if we think of the things that are known...

[Badralexi] What if there are some other things?

[Roman] In that case, everyone is also responsible for what is not known, if he is guilty of anything. Everyone is also responsible for what is not known at a given point.

[Badralexi] To conclude this topic, would you say that the danger resides in the fact that President Iliescu does not sincerely believe in giving land to the peasants and that he considers that the only purpose of factories is to ensure food for the workers?

[Roman] From a political viewpoint, this is definitely a danger. I would like to be more concrete and recall the million jobs promise he has made during the electoral campaign, something that was obviously impossible to achieve. Therefore, there is a danger here, because the peasants' work has always been the main source of economic growth in Romania. Second, the Romanian factories can only survive if they adjust to the generally recognized principles of management. They have markets, technology, and everything else they need so that, briefly put, they can obtain 1,001 lei-worth of production for 1,000 lei-worth of costs. This was not the case in Ceausescu's [former communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu] time, when many industries were operating at a loss despite the fact that the raw materials were cheaper than in other countries. To continue this state of affairs today, through such a political attitude, is a dangerous thing.

If the President Is Not Able To Adjust to Reality, the Citizens Will Draw Appropriate Conclusions

[Badralexi] Can anything be done to convince the president that his approach is dangerous?

[Roman] The influence of such an approach is obviously nefarious. However, since he keeps coming in contact with the economic reality of the developed world, I believe that the president will realize that this is the only way for us, too. Moreover, I subscribe to the idea of maintaining the social structure—this is a dominant feature of our party—only that this effort becomes meaningless, if it does not rely on a solid economic reality. This is all. This is the simple difference between demagoguery and pragmatism.

[Badralexi] Do you believe that we can simply ignore the danger to or posed by President Iliescu?

[Roman] One can never ignore what a president says, particularly in a semi-parliamentary republic like ours. However, the reality obliges the president to realize what the situation is really like and if he is not able to adjust to that reality, the citizens will draw appropriate conclusion.

[Badralexi] Let us hope so. Mr. Roman, many share your fear that Romania might lose the race with the other Eastern European countries. Do you think that the current holders of the power do not share these fears?

[Roman] I am afraid they do not. The majority of those currently occupying important positions in the administration are people used to the methods and mentalities of the centralized regime. Somewhere, at the back of their minds, they do not believe in the need for Romania to reach the standards of the civilized world.

It Would Be a Crime for Romania To Now Miss Its Greatest Chance

[Badralexi] Are we talking here about irresponsibility, ignorance, or stupidity?

[Roman] We are faced here with an entire mental system that shaped the people who grew within that system. Consequently, they are unable to think differently. I noted this in many ruling acts and recovery plans of the current government. I am really concerned about this aspect. Romania has missed a lot of chances in its history, and it would be a crime to also miss a chance now that is probably greater than ever before.

[Badralexi] Why is it greater than ever before?

[Roman] For an external and internal reason. In the modern world, the desire to see as many nations as possible entering the democratic space is very big. I am firmly convinced of that. On the other hand, from an internal viewpoint, the great majority of the people are capable of getting hold of information in various ways. They have access to information. To all this one should add the everlasting desire of the Romanians to see their country make as much progress as possible.

[Badralexi] In your opinion, what are Romania's chances that the great powers will not sacrifice it again to the omnipresent Russians?

[Roman] I do not believe in this desire to sacrifice Romania. I am qualified to state this, in the wake of my contacts with responsible representatives of the great powers. I repeat, today there is a desire to see Romania in the front-ranking group.

[Badralexi] I hope to God you are right...

[Roman] God will see to it, while we will actually do it.

[Badralexi] May this come true. Is this desire shared by other quarters, too, outside Western Europe?

[Roman] It is also shared by the United States. I have enough proof of that. But let us go back to our being sacrificed to Russia's omnipresence and omnipotence—so as to return to your question. In this respect, everything depends on our choice. Until now, our choice has categorically been in favor of NATO integration, with the exception of the extremist hysteria, which, however, is not decisive. Well, this commitment should remain categorical and should be implemented. Then, we will be able to eliminate the Russian insistence on maintaining a certain sphere of influence. Let us remember that Romania has already managed to do that in the period between the two world wars.

We Are Not Calling Upon the People To Make New Sacrifices

[Badralexi] Would an eventual victory of the opposition in the case of early elections further the cause of Romania's integration into NATO?

[Roman] This is a very good question. Regarding our progress toward the Western structures, the answer is definitely yes. The opinion-shaping leaders of the majority would no longer be people who are definitely indebted to, if not even the slaves of, the Ceausescu mentality. However, there is still the problem of overcoming the economic blockage. In this respect, it is not sure that an opposition majority would be able to do much about it. The reason for that is that we need a solid consensus in these times of transition. However, I believe that such a majority should be endorsed by a broader political spectrum, since contestations are extremely damaging to the implementation of reform. It is obvious that we must take unpopular steps in the short run; but if voices come up promising to ease the people's lot, then everything is going to be spoiled... However, reform does not require new sacrifices. We are not calling upon the people to make new sacrifices, but to work. However, if the people are to do that, they must first realize that there is no alternative to it.

[Badralexi] Therefore, in case the current opposition emerges victorious in the elections, will it engage into negotiations with the future opposition?

[Roman] Yes, I believe it will be necessary to engage in a very serious dialogue with it.

[Badralexi] What makes you think that that dialogue would be more successful than the recent negotiations? The dialogue partners will be practically the same...

[Roman] This does not matter, since the other side will no longer negotiate from its current position. At this moment, they are putting their own interests above the country's interests.

[Badralexi] Do you think that they will keep believing that their power is everlasting?

[Roman] This is quite possible, if we think of the mentalities I referred to before. This is how they used to think and this is how they are going to think in the future, too. Not all of them, of course, but anyhow, those who are now represented in the government.

[Badralexi] Nevertheless, do you believe that a man like Mr. Adrian Nastase [Party of Social Democracy, PDSR, executive president] can be so naive?

[Roman] No. I suspect that Adrian Nastase—a man who has been around the world—does not believe in that, but I see that he is playing that game. Therefore, he probably has no independence in the matter.

[Badralexi] Does Mr. Gherman [Oliviu Gherman, PDSR president] have such independence?

[Roman] I do not think he has it either. However, Mr. Gherman is a man without strong personal ambitions. Consequently, he is sometimes able to give a better and more positive nuance to his stands.

[Badralexi] Could Mr. Gherman's attitude have a positive role within the PDSR?

[Roman] I hope so.

17 June 1990 Was a Great Trial for Me...

[Badralexi] If the Democratic Convention [CDR] wins the next elections, would you want or be able to participate in a government?

[Roman] I do not think we would really want to do that. However, we would like to reach an agreement with the CDR on the package of necessary measures, after which we can give them our endorsement.

[Badralexi] Would such an alliance be viable?

[Roman] Yes.

[Badralexi] Mr. Roman, do you not regret now that you agreed to become prime minister at the beginning?

[Roman] When, on 26 December [1989] or 28 June [1990]?

[Badralexi] On 28 June.

[Roman] If I think about it, I do not regret it, since what was done at the time—to the extent of eliminating certain old structures or filling up certain gaps in the process of the country's modernization—is a positive thing.

[Badralexi] This may be so, but I was addressing myself to the politician Petre Roman of today.

[Roman] On 17 June I was thinking of resigning. That was my great trial. If I were to think about it as a politician, therefore with a certain degree of egotism, the answer is yes. After all, such a gesture would have probably solved a lot for the following year. I am not the man to think egoistically...

UN Reports Further Serb Advances on Gorazde

AU1204154394 Paris AFP in English 1527 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, April 12 (AFP)—Russian envoy Vitaly Churkin and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic headed to the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde Tuesday [12 April] as Serb forces pursued their advance on the town in defiance of NATO warnings. [passage omitted]

General Bertrand de Lapresle, commander of all UN forces in former Yugoslavia, said the air strikes should not be blown up in importance and should not "put in question the well advanced peace process." [passage omitted]

Major Rob Annink, a spokesman for UNPROFOR in Sarajevo, said Serb forces had "closed up to the river Drina" all along the southwest of the Gorazde enclave on Monday and were trying to push southward from the north, coming close to Bosnian army positions. [passage omitted]

Serbs Shell Refugee Convoys

AU1204153094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Mustafa Kurtovic report from Gorazde]

[Text] [words indistinct] a large concentration of their hordes in several regions on the territory of the Gorazde commune, and particularly in Ustipraca, Kozara, and (Mesici), the Serbian-Montenegrin fascists have this afternoon launched a fierce artillery and infantry attack on all the defense lines and the town itself. The aggressor is intending to launch a massive onslaught from the direction of Ustipraca at the Gorazde defenders at (Borovik). With combined tank and infantry attacks with artillery support from (Vojkovici), the enemy is trying to capture the strategic points on this part of the free territory. According to all the information available, this would be the starting point for the chetniks to break through—from the direction of Ustiprcaca—the defense lines at the very access point to Gorazde.

We also have information that the aggressor used chemical agents in the attacks on the defense lines. The aggressor has also used artillery to fire on convoys of refugees fleeing the burnt villages that the aggressor has captured in the offensive so far. We do not yet have information on the possible massacres of refugees heading for the town. The situation in Gorazde is extremely dramatic.

Throughout the day the chetniks from the surrounding hills, from the right bank of the Drina River, fired with snipers, M-84s, and 82-mm mortars at the area of (Vitkovici), and from (Lug) the chetniks [words indistinct]. Many civilians have been killed and wounded. According to the latest intelligence information, the Serbian-Montenegrin fascists are carrying out extensive preparations for an even more intensive offensive on the free territory on the left bank of the Drina River. The full force of this offensive will be directed from the direction of Foca and the valley of the Praca River at (Ostanica), Orahovice, Bare, Jabucko Sedlo, (Trogrlo), and Ustipraca. The commanders of the latest chetnik offensive have been hurriedly bringing in new mercenaries, cutthroats, and other scum to this region.

Karadzic Cancels All Agreements With UN

AU1304110494 Paris AFP in English 1052 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Article by Victoria Stegic]

[Text] Sarajevo, April 13 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Wednesday he was "cancelling" all agreements signed with the United Nations as international mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg flew into Sarajevo to try to defuse the crisis.

In a letter to UN chief Butrus Butrus-Ghali Karadzic said he was cancelling all accords signed by the Serb side in the Bosnian conflict prior to NATO airstrikes launched at the weekend against Serb forces attacking the eastern enclave of Gorazde, the SRNA news agency reported.

"All of the accords that have been signed and the positive efforts, based on trust, are cancelled and we must interpret the behaviour of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) as coming from a potential enemy force," Karadzic said in his letter.

He added that the strikes by warplanes of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation against Bosnian Serb positions in the government-held Gorazde pocket could be not justified and meant that the United Nations was siding with Bosnia's Moslems.

As such, he added, "relations between us can no longer be as they were before this thoughtless act."

Karadzic said Butrus-Ghali should understand that the Serbs "could no longer cooperate" with the UNPROFOR command and said they would have to be "more careful regarding UNPROFOR troop movements and any equipment they transport."

The airstrikes and other "hostile acts" toward the Serbs must "cease immediately," he warned.

About 40 UN observers based in Serb-controlled areas in Bosnia were placed under house arrest following the NATO raids in Gorazde Sunday and Monday.

UN peacekeepers have also been blocked in weapons collection points throughout the UN-imposed exclusion zone around Sarajevo. The Serbs have reportedly placed mines near these points.

An AFP reporter observed Wednesday that a UN convoy was still held up at a checkpoint near the village of

Kubiljaca, around 30 kilometres (18 miles) from Sarajevo, by Serb policemen who had placed a dozen anti-tank mines in front of the leading transporter and behind the three trucks that were following it.

The convoy was stopped on Sunday "for customs reasons," the Swedish commanding officer said.

Meanwhile the Geneva conference co-presidents, Owen for the European Community and Thorvald [Stoltenberg] for the United Nations, arrived here amid a flurry of diplomatic activity aimed at defusing the crisis.

They went immediately to the headquarters of the UNPROFOR chief in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Michael Rose, for talks with U.S. special envoy Charles Redman and Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin.

Later they were to hold talks with the Bosnian authorities, a government spokesman said.

UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi and the UN Protection Force chief in former Yugoslavia, General Bertrand de Lapresle, were also due in Sarajevo later in the day, arriving from Belgrade following talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Rob Annink said.

On Tuesday they had attempted without success to travel to Pale for talks with Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

Churkin was making his third visit to Sarajevo in as many days, arriving from the Serb stronghold of Pale, 20 kilometres (12 miles) east of the Bosnian capital, where he has been in talks with separatist Serb leaders.

Talks aimed at securing an overall ceasefire in Bosnia-Herzegovina have stalled following a UN threat to order air strikes against Serb forces unless they pull back from their assault on Gorazde, a UN-designated safe area.

Churkin, Karadzic To Visit Gorazde

AU1204124694 Paris AFP in English 1217 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Article by Victoria Stegic]

[Text] Sarajevo, April 12 (AFP)—Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic reportedly headed to the beseiged Moslem enclave of Gorazde Tuesday as Serb forces pursued their advance on the town in defiance of NATO warnings. Karadzic told the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA early Tuesday that he and Churkin were leaving for the eastern Bosnian enclave "to see the situation on the ground." The two men had met earlier in the Serb stronghold of Pale outside Sarajevo as part of a bid by Churkin to renew the dialogue between Serb forces and UNPROFOR following NATO airstrikes on Serb attackers around Gorazde on Sunday and Monday. Karadzic accused the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) of taking sides in the confict and said the NATO attacks had "caused significant damage and caused deaths" in the centre of Gorazde, SRNA said. "NATO bombed both sides" in the dispute, Karadzic insisted.

Major Rob Annink, a spokesman for UNPROFOR, said meanwhile that Serb forces had on Monday "closed up to the river Drina" all along the southwest of the Gorazde enclave and were also trying to push southward from the north, coming close to Bosnian army positions. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) quoted aid officials on the spot as saying seven Serb shells hit Gorazde early Tuesday. Regular bursts of small arms fire could also be heard, said UNHCR spokeswoman Lyndall Sachs. But she said the observers in place described the situation in the town as "relatively calm" the day after NATO warplanes carried out their second strike in two days on advancing Serb forces.

In Sarajevo on Tuesday, UNPROFOR commanders defended the NATO airstrikes as a legitimate support of the UN-declared "safe haven" in Gorazde, denying Serb claims that UN forces were now taking sides in the conflict. Lieutenant General Michael Rose, UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia, told journalists the airstrikes were a legitimate, limited tactical defence and it was out of the question to see them as a political act. General Bertrand de Lapresle, commander of all UN forces in former Yugoslavia, said the air strikes should not be blown up in importance and should not "put in question the well advanced peace process," interrupted by the Gorazde offensive. "We hope to be able to restablish bridges and resume political negotiations, which alone make sense," he added.

A total 156 people have died and 646 been wounded in Gorazde since the Serb offensive began two weeks ago, UNHCR spokeswoman Sylvana Foa said Tuesday at the organisation's headquarters in Geneva. The total did not include the victims of Monday's fighting as the Gorazde hospital could not be reached, she added. Food was running out, with only 50 tonnes of supplies left in storage, since fighting has prevented fresh aid deliveries since March 22, she said.

In another report, SRNA charged that Monday's raid by NATO planes had hit a clinic near Gorazde, killing two Serb male nurses. Serb military sources quoted by the Belgrade-based agency TANJUG said the first raid on Sunday by two American F-16s only hit a civilian car.

Washington said Sunday's raid hit a Serb command post near Gorazde and Monday an F-18 bomber destroyed an attack tank and two military transport vehicles on the southern edge of town. Major Roy Thomas, the senior military observer in Sarajevo, said UNPROFOR was trying via the Bosnian Serb army to gain contact with a Dutch military observer and his Serb interpreter who have been missing since they left the mainly Moslem encalve of Zepa, northeast of Gorazde, Monday morning. The observer was on a routine administrative patrol, Thomas said. He and his interpreter passed

through a Serb checkpoint out of Zepa and were last heard of at 9:30 a.m. (0730 GMT) Monday.

In Belgrade, a UNPROFOR spokesman said several UN vehicles had been damaged by vandals overnight, but he said it was not possible to link the attacks to Serbian anger over the NATO air raids.

Churkin To Hold Talks With UN in Sarajevo

LD1304090794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0828 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—Vitaliy Churkin, special Russian envoy for former Yugoslavia, left Pale for the Muslim part of Sarajevo this morning.

It is expected that during his talks with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] officials, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Churkin will try to renew conditions for a resumption of dialogue between the Serb side and representatives of the UN peacekeepers following NATO's military intervention, which strained the relations between the Srpska republic and UNPROFOR.

Churkin has been visiting Pale for two days now, and he is expected to return from the Muslim part of Sarajevo early this afternoon.

Serbs Agree to Cease-Fire

AU1304154594 Paris AFP in English 1529 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 13 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs have agreed to a ceasefire around the Moslem enclave of Gorazde, Russian special envoy Vitaliy Churkin said Wednesday [13 April].

According to the Bosnian Serb SRNA news agency, Churkin said after a meeting with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic at his Pale headquarters that the "accord should help lead to a general ceasefire between Moslems and Serbs."

Akashi, Lapresle Fail To Meet With Serbs

AU1204183194 Paris AFP in English 1800 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, April 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs retaliating against NATO air strikes placed at least 40 UN observers under house arrest Tuesday, a UN official said, severing lines of communication with peacekeeping authorities. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile the United Nations special representative in former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, was thwarted in a bid to re-establish contact with Bosnian Serb leaders at their Pale stronghold near the Bosnian capital.

After a meeting earlier with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, Akashi said he and the UN Protection Force's (UNPROFOR) overall commander, General Bertrand de Lapresle, were seeking an urgent meeting with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

But Akashi and De Lapresle left Sarajevo for Zagreb Tuesday afternoon after failing to reach Pale. [passage omitted]

Serbs Surround, Blockade UNPROFOR Troops

AU1204164494 Paris AFP in English 1633 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, April 12 (AFP)—Serbs placed at least 40 UN military observers under house arrest on Tuesday [12 April], a UN official said here, as retaliation for air strikes against Serb troops around the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde.

Major Rob Thomas, Canadian head of UN military observers, said house arrests took place in Serb-controlled zones in Bosnia.

Police and Serb soldiers stood guard outside some of the observers' homes, Thomas said, while other observers had been threatened with arrest if they left their places of residence.

The house arrests were one of the responses by Bosnian Serb forces to NATO airstrikes Sunday and Monday on Serb positions around Gorazde in eastern Bosnia.

Another UN military observer and his interpreter were missing on Monday in Serb territory after they left Zepa, a Moslem enclave north of Gorazde.

Elsewhere, General Michael Rose, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commander in Bosnia, said Tuesday he was "worried" about peacekeeping forces trapped by Serb mines in several areas of Bosnia.

Talks were continuing Tuesday to free a convoy of Swedish peacekeeping troops blocked since Sunday at a Serb checkpoint in Kobiljaca, northwest of Sarajevo, French journalists said.

Serb troops planted mines around the convoy of six vehicles and 16 men after the first NATO airstrike on Sunday. The original reason for the blockade was said to be "administrative."

More peacekeeping troops were also trapped and surrounded by mines in at least three Serb heavy arms centres in the exclusion zone around Sarajevo, a UNPROFOR spokesman said.

Rose told reporters at a press conference: "They (the troops) are not under any direct threat at the moment." He said he was "worried" by the situtation but did not want to increase tension. [passage omitted]

Troops Encircled by Mines

LD1204210594 Stockholm Radio Sweden in Swedish 2000 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Report by Staffan Heimerson from Vienna]

[Text] A report from Bosnia tonight says that 13 Swedish and two Norwegian UN soldiers have been held by the Serbs at a roadblock outside Sarajevo since Sunday. The Swedes were on their way to Tuzla when they were stopped and landmines were placed around them.

The nightmare in the intensifying conflict in Bosnia in the last few days has been that in retaliation for the UN calling for help from NATO planes or in revenge for the UN losing its neutrality and taking the Muslim side—in the view of the Serbs—the Serbs will deliberately start pointing their rifles at the UN peacekeepers. And now it has happened: 13 Swedish UN soldiers and two Norwegians are being held prisoner for the third day at the Koviljaca road block northeast of Sarajevo on the normal route to the main Swedish base in Tuzla. This information came just after 2100 from the AFP news agency and it was later confirmed by the leaders of the battalion. According to the same source, the Swedes are trapped behind landmines.

The Swedes were driving a convoy of six vehicles carrying essential supplies to the Swedish bases when they were stopped for what was called administrative reasons on Sunday afternoon. A few hours later the first aerial attack took place which was to force the Serbs to ease the pressure on the encircled Muslim enclave of Gorazde. The Serbian soldiers then placed landmines around the Swedes and their vehicles.

In the war in Bosnia, UN soldiers of all nationalities are living dangerously, but generally they have been able to avoid harassment or acts of war deliberately directed at them. The situation of the Swedes, however, is not so precarious. The leaders of the battalion are hoping to send other soldiers tomorrow, so that the soldiers, who are virtually imprisoned, can be replaced.

UN Says Serbs Trying To Reclaim Weapons

AU1304140094 Paris AFP in English 1350 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 13 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb soldiers have tried to reclaim heavy weapons placed earlier this year under UN control, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Rob Annink said Wednesday [13 April].

He said the soldiers tried to take the weapons Tuesday in Krivoglavci, northwest of Sarajevo, and withdrew after receiving orders from their command post in Lukavica which had been contacted by the UNPROFOR.

The weapons were placed under UN control following a February accord between Bosnian Serbs and Moslems on an immediate ceasefire and the withdrawal of heavy weapons from around the capital Sarajevo.

The agreement was prompted by a NATO ultimatum to Serb and Moslem units to remove artillery pieces to sites outside a 20-kilometre (12-mile) radius or face air strikes.

Annink said that following the recent NATO air raids against Serbian position in the Moslem enclave of Gorazde, Serb troops have placed mines around three of the weapons collection sites thus blocking the UN personnel guarding the sites.

He added that the UNPROFOR is also unaware of the whereabouts of a UN military observer and his Serb interpreter who disappeared two days ago after leaving the Moslem enclave of Zepa.

He said attempts to get information about the pair from Bosnian Serb authorities have been unsuccessful.

Annink said that 58 other UN military observers have been blocked in Serb-held territory since the NATO raids Sunday and Monday.

He said some of the observers are considered hostages while others have been allowed limited freedom of movement. They include observers based in Lukavica, near Sarajevo.

Karadzic, Mladic Defiant Over NATO Attacks

LD1204162194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, today visited positions of the Srpska republic's army on the Gorazde front.

At the Serb forces command post, General Ratko Mladic, commander in chief of the Srpska republic's army, briefed him on the situation on this part of the front. They then toured the front line together.

Karadzic did not hide his satisfaction with the army's state of preparedness and morale. During the tour, he answered numerous questions from soldiers. They focused on the current aggression by NATO forces. The United Nations has made a catastrophic mistake, Karadzic said. He added that Michael Rose, commander of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] will be remembered for his ignominious order to NATO—that is to the United Nations—to interfere in the conflict, thus siding with one of the parties in the civil war.

"They have aided the Muslims before, but this is the most direct form of support," Karadzic stressed.

In his address to the soldiers Karadzic said: "We have won and this is why there is so much anger against us. We won by protecting our people and our territory. They are now attacking us because they cannot stop us, and they have promised it to Muslim countries because their

domestic interests are involved here. This is the twilight of the United Nations which is now under the dictate of one power."

The president of the Srpska republic added that some circles in the United States are behind this UN abuse and who have carried out their threats, thus "playing their last cards." "Now, they will have to send in ground troops to fight us," Radovan Karadzic said.

The Serb soldiers have said that they are prepared to fight to the last man. Radovan Karadzic told them: "You are not bare-footed Somalians. You are one of the most capable armies in Europe and they will consider their next step carefully."

Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb army, described the current situation on the Gorazde battlefield as very positive and stressed the readiness of the Serb army to face every eventuality. The Serb army's morale is fantastic, Mladic stressed. He added he knows there will be further air strikes and that as far as he is concerned this is not news.

"Up to now, NATO has been waging a war against our people and the Srpska republic. They have been helping the Muslims and Croats in their fight against us with logistics, communications, equipment, advice. They have been stopping us where we were at our most powerful. Only now has NATO shed its mask," Mladic said.

"President Radovan Karadzic and I have issued an order that anything that flies over us and opens fire will be downed," Mladic said.

Mladic Orders Troops To Down NATO Aircraft

AU1204144094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Report by Mirjana Kusmuk]

[Text] After his meeting with Russian special envoy Vitaliy Churkin, at which they discussed the situation in Gorazde following NATO's air intervention, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, visited Serbian fighters on the Gorazde front. At the headquarters of the Serbian army in Rogatica, general Ratko Mladic, commander of the general staff of the army of Srpska republic, submitted a report to Karadzic on the military situation on the ground.

The president of the Srpska republic then visited the positions of the Serbian army and the command of the Gorazde brigade. In conversations with the soldiers, Karadzic stressed that the United Nations and General Rose bear the sole responsibility for the bombing of the Serbian civilian targets around Gorazde, and that they have taken sides with one side in the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We are constantly being threatened with bombing. They have now played this card. The only thing left for them to do is to send ground forces. You here are more superior. You are not the bare- footed Somalians, but are currently the best army in Europe, Karadzic said.

General Mladic expressed the view that there will be more air strikes. He said that the army's morale is exceptional and that the general command of the Srpska republic has issued the order to all soldiers to shoot down whatever flies toward them.

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has been providing logistics support and giving advice to the Muslims and Croats for two years. They have now removed their mask and placed themselves on their side. Our only strategy is to defend our hearths, the weak, and our territory, General Mladic said. The president and the general also played a chess game on the first line of the front.

The Rogatica part of the Gorazde front is quiet today. Owing to poor weather, the Muslim soldiers have reduced their attacks. NATO aircraft are also affected by fog and rain and are today flying unusually high.

U.S. Bombers Overfly Serb Positions in Gorazde

LD1304082794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0731 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Cajnice, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—U.S. bombers are flying over the positions of Serb soldiers in the Gorazde area again this morning and, according to the command of the [Bosnian Serb] Herzegovina Corps, the Muslims are massing their units toward Majdan, Gradina, and Trebesovo in preparation for new attacks. [passage omitted]

NATO Aircraft Overfly Serb Lines

LD1204201694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1947 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Cajnice, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—NATO aircraft overflew Serb positions around Gorazde several times late this afternoon and this evening, dropping to only 1,000 meters, but did not engage in combat actions, the command of the Herzegovina Corps has announced.

The Muslims again tried to take advantage of the low-flying U.S. aircraft, launching a fierce attack from the direction of Gorazde on the positions of the Herzegovina corps in the region of Jardiste and Majdan. Their infantry attack was supported by artillery fire.

As the command of the Herzegovina corps announced, the attack has been repelled while the Muslim units, having suffered huge losses, were returned to their starting positions. One Serb fighter was killed and two others wounded in the attack.

Muslims Resume Attack

LD1204122194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Cajnice, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—Muslim units resumed their attacks on all Serb positions on the right bank of the Drina river this morning, the command of the Srpska Herzegovina Corps said.

According to the same source, Muslims have opened fierce fire from all types of artillery weapons from Gorazde, a UN safe area. At the same time, Muslim infantry units launched attacks on the Jarciste, Gradine, and Majdan areas.

According to the command of the Herzegovina Corps all Muslim attacks have been repelled and the front line has not changed today.

UN Commander Explains Reasons for Air Strikes

LD1204130194 Paris Radio France International in French 1200 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Bosnia is experiencing renewed tension with the advance of Serbs on Gorazde, which has been shelled for several days. [passage omitted]

General de Lapresle, the commander of the UN forces in the former Yugoslavia, justifies the air strikes by the difficult situation faced by the Blue Helmets in the region. General de Lapresle was interviewed by Remy Hourdan:

[Begin Lapresle recording] The first point, which seems essential to me, is not to give undue importance to the close air support actions. These were simply aimed at enabling the United Nations to protect its personnel based in the town of Gorazde. This was a very precise case fully anticipated by UN guidelines perfectly known to all parties on the ground. When UN soldiers or personnel are placed in a situation of self-defense we use all means at our disposal. If UN personnel had not been threatened in Gorazde we would not have used the close air support action as we did; we would have used another UN procedure to take into account the fact that Gorazde was designated a safe area and we could have called on NATO planes through the channels provided by the UN resolution. [end recording]

Izetbegovic: No Dialogue Until Serbs Withdraw

AU1204191294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency received Butrus-Ghali's special envoy Jasushi Akashi, and General Bertrand Guillaume de Sauville de Lapresle, UN commander for the former Yugoslavia. The talks, which were attended by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Supreme Commander General Rasim Delic, concerned the difficult situation in Gorazde.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic said after the talks:

I expressed to Mr. Akashi the readiness of our side to halt the fighting throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina on condition that the attacks on Gorazde cease. The Serbs [words indistinct] have to withdraw to the positions of 30 March, and then the political talks can start. An arrangement has to be reached that the cease-fire agreement does not turn into the freezing of the Serb occupation. There can be no political talks while the population is being killed. These are our conditions, and Mr. Akashi expressed understanding for our position. We stand available to Mr. Akashi and his [word indistinct] to continue the talks in order to achieve a cease-fire around Gorazde as soon as possible.

President Izetbegovic stressed the cooperativeness between the Bosnia-Herzegovina side and the UN, and said that, if the aggressor failed to show cooperativeness himself, decisive action against the Serb side was expected from the UN. This implies energetic [word indistinct] of air power against Serb equipment in and around Gorazde.

Expressing his satisfaction and honor at meeting President Izetbegovic, Prime Minister Silajdzic, and Army General Delic, Butrus-Ghali's special envoy Akashi said:

We agreed at the talks that the situation in Gorazde requires special attention. I understand very well now the position of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government. Based on these talks I will now be going to hold talks with the Serb side in accordance with our constant efforts to find common ground for reaching a just solution. Asked by the reporters whether he had already contacted Karadzic and whether there were indications that the Serb side would agree to talks, Akashi said: I will try and meet Karadzic as soon as possible. I do not think that anyone should refuse to talk to the peacekeepers from the United Nations. Asked whether there would be further air strikes against the Serb positions in Gorazde, Akashi said that this depended on the development of the situation. If our staff and the staff of the humanitarian organizations come under attack or are exposed to direct threats, and if there is a threat to Gorazde as a safe haven, then the United Nations will draw the relevant conclusions and can ask for close air support from NATO. I think that enough restraint will be shown, and that we will not be placed in that situation. We have carried out close air support action twice already, and I think that this is enough. I think that this should be enough for reasonable and realistic people. This is what Butrus-Ghali's special envoy Yasushi Akashi said.

Rose Asks Bosnians To Stop Gorazde Provocations

LD1204190094 Paris TF-1 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Things are escalating in Bosnia. [passage omitted] Naida Nakad reports:

[Begin recording] [Nakad] [passage omitted] In the face of this dangerous escalation of tension, General Rose, commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia, has tried all day to calm people down:

[Rose, in French] We must accept the fact that UNPROFOR has not asked for air support apart from for those times when their units are running great risks. Yesterday and on 10 April we had troops in pockets of Gorazde that came under unacceptable bombardment. Even after warnings.

[Nakad] Michael Rose also asked the Bosnians to stop their provocations in Gorazde. He suspects that they shoot on the Serbs to step up the pressure and to obtain a fresh intervention from NATO. [end recording]

Izetbegovic Responds

AU1204191094 Paris AFP in English 1842 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, April 12 (AFP)—Late Tuesday [12 April] Izetbegovic questioned Rose's assertion that Moslem soldiers inside Gorazde had shelled Bosnian Serb positions.

"We have sufficient reasons to doubt the reliability of General Rose's sources," the Bosnian president said in a statement.

He also criticised the fact that Rose had not specified whether the Moslem mortar fire had been in response to a Serb attack or a defensive manoeuvre.

Izetbegovic said UNPROFOR had "systematically... denied" Bosnian reports on the serious nature of the Serb offensive against Gorazde, adding that the NATO air strikes had been launched too late and that their "limited and selective nature has only encouraged the enemy."

Serb shells had killed 23 people in Gorazde Monday, he said.

Izetbegovic said he was willing to return to the negotiating table provided Serbs withdrew from all areas of the eastern Bosnian enclave they had conquered and a political solution was found which did not legitimise "the occupation of Bosnia."

Muslims in Gorazde Deny Being Hit

AU1304111294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Report by Mustafa Kurtovic from Gorazde]

[Text] Fresh forces of the chetnik formations have arrived in [word indistinct] Ustipraca, (?Luksici) and [words indistinct]. They are being accompanied by armored-mechanized units of the former Yugoslav Peoples' Army. [Words indistinct] the free territory, from mortars and antiaircraft arms the chetniks are pounding the town's settlements of Vidkovici, [words indistinct], while from the right bank of the Drina River they are systematically firing at apartment after apartment, house after house, with snipers 80 [word indistinct]. For this reason we ask for an immediate intervention so that this town will not turn into the biggest grave in the history of mankind.

The latest information claims that Karadzic's fascists are concentrating additional forces in (?Leskici), Ustipraca, and (?Luksici) and that in the planning of a new powerful offensive on Gorazde they are being assisted by war criminals Momcilo Perisic [commander of the FRY Army] and Vojislav Seselj [leader of the Serbian Radical Party]. [Words indistinct] Karadzic who visited the so-called soldiers of the Uzice corps in the area of Rogatica yesterday.

The officials of the Gorazde district and commune deny all reports launched by the self-styled Serbian Radio and Television, which claim that the town center has been hit in the NATO action.

Gorazde was and remains [words indistinct] fighters will always be on the defense lines and defend the sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina until the end.

Muslims Reportedly Forewarned of Air Strike

LD1204161894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1551 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Article by Scepan Aleksic]

[Text] Cajnice, April 12 (TANJUG)—Moslems from Gorazde were told when the NATO-U.S. planes would carry out the second attack on Serb positions near the town, a number of Serb fighters, who witnessed Monday's attack launched a little after 14:00 hours told the TANJUG correspondent.

Two U.S. planes carried out the raid which lasted 45 minutes. Civilian targets and Serb positions near Gorazde were attacked and six missiles were fired accompanied by incessant machinegun fire, According to Serb fighters on the front line in the Serb village Bare, two kilometers south of the town on the right bank of the river Drina.

According to the Serbs a full hour before the attack the Gorazde Moslems had informed the Serb fighters by radio when the U.S. air raid would take place, Goran Saric, a commander of a Serb unit in the Gorazde battlefront said.

As soon as the planes flew in a huge crowd came out on the streets of Gorazde and many climbed on roofs of buildings and looked on with binoculars, the deputy commander of the unit Ljubisa Borovcanin said. They had nothing to fear because the Serbs had not shelled the town in the last 15 days, he added.

For all their sophisticated electronic equipment the U.S. planes seemed to fire clumsily, with imprecision and at

random, Borovcanin said adding that they used very powerful missiles judging by the ten meter long and two meter deep craters they had left and which were also seen by the TANJUG correspondent.

We did not have the authorization from our command to fire on U.S. planes and that is why we did not do so, commander Saric said. "However the fighters are already losing patience, especially after the death of their friends and I am sure that they will fire on the planes next time not heeding anybody's orders."

In NATO's Monday attack two Serb sanitary cars, clearly marked with Red Cross signs were destroyed, two Serb paramedics were killed and two Serb houses razed to the ground and not tanks as is claimed by NATO, according to information from the command of the Herzegovina Corps of the Bosnian Serb army.

Serb Fighters 'Not Frightened' During Strike

AU1204162094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Report by Jelena Dabarcic]

[Excerpt] Muslim forces on the Gorazde front—supported by U.S. aircraft, which have not been engaged in fighting up to the time of sending this report—are attacking the positions of the Serbian fighters, and are firing with all available weapons. These Muslim infantry attacks have been repelled. The Serbian army fighters are firmly holding their positions on the right bank of the Drina River and are saying they will launch a counter-attack if the Muslims do not stop their attacks.

The Muslim forces have been noticed carrying out fresh regrouping on the elevations of Gradina, Olujaca, and Trebecevo. A high-ranking officer from the command of the Serbian army told us that they had intercepted a radio message from the Muslims that U.S. aircraft will attack Serbian territories again today.

At the same time, the command of the Herzegovina Corps confirmed that despite the constant lies by Muslim radio [Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina], the Serbian units are not in Gorazde, nor are the fighters of the Serbian army attacking the town.

What was it like during the air attack by the U.S. aircraft? You can hear this from the following conversation between my colleague Milenko Draskovic with Ljubisa Borovcanin, deputy commander of a unit at the front.

[Borovcanin] I must admit that I had the opportunity for the first time to watch live how the U.S. Air Force supported the Turks, whose spirits were raised, especially when they saw that the U.S. aircraft were accurately pinpointing vehicles with Red Cross markings. I do not know where they trained and whose orders they were carrying out, but this was (?indeed) a morale booster for us. We waited for the order from our command, we were even ready to shoot at these aircraft. However, considering that the army has its hierarchy, we did not want to act on our own. I can convey you the feelings of the soldiers—who were not frightened, which is shown and confirmed by the fact that we have retained the newly taken positions—that next time the air force is used, it will be met with fire, according to our capabilities.

[Draskovic] According to what you know, since you are in visual contact and listen to their radio stations, it appears that they knew precisely when the attack was going to take place.

[Borovcanin] I can tell you that at the time when the aircraft were coming, we were observing the town of Gorazde. I personally was looking at it together with my fighters and my commander, who was here before me on the front line. At the time when the aircraft were overflying, a large number of citizens of Gorazde came out in the streets with binoculars, which clearly showed that they knew when the aircraft were going to come. They wanted to watch a great miracle that did not happen after all.

[Draskovic] You also intercepted a radio message?

[Borovcanin] We heard a conversation. We were threatened. The Turks threatened us that at 1500 the Phantoms would wreak havoc. It actually happened at 1445. So, this was a coordinated attack.

[Draskovic] The moment when they starting shooting, when they dropped the bombs, must have been horrific. What was it like?

[Borovcanin] Believe me, it was not horrific. It looked like a war game that we used to play on computer. We survived it and so did the attackers, unfortunately. The question is whether they will survive it next time.

Serbs Seek Condemnation of NATO 'Aggression'

LD1204135394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1233 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—The government of the Srpska republic today expressed indignation at the United Nation's effective involvement in the civil war in ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina and its siding with the Muslim side, the ministry for information of the Srpska republic has stated.

The government draws attention to the already looming risk of this act leading to the very brink of a conflict of cataclysmic proportions and maintains that there is no need to emphasize the fact that the United Nations has undermined the relatively reasonable logic of the hitherto peace process by taking this action.

Apart from the necessary measures, derived from its powers and taken in keeping with the latest situation, the government has also decided to acquaint in detail the

international public with the consequences of the bombardment of the Serb positions around Gorazde.

In this context, the ministry for foreign affairs of the Srpska republic will inform Russia, Germany, China, Japan, and India in particular about the NATO aggression and demand of these countries to condemn this aggression and support the peace process.

Taking into account all the elements of the civil war, a formula for peace in ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina must recognize the right to self- determination of all three peoples, including their right to have their own state, the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia and the Serbian people in general, a lasting cessation of hostilities, the disengagement of the warring parties under the supervision of the United Nations and territorial demarcation, the statement says.

Gorazde Death Toll Reaches 187

AU1304151994

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 13 April carries within its regular 40-minute newscast several reports on the combat situation in the republic.

According to the correspondent from Gorazde, "the heavy suffering of the people of Gorazde has continued today. The chetniks have killed five and seriously wounded 31 people in Gorazde over the last 24 hours alone. The tragic (?list) of those killed [word indistinct] the latest offensive by the chetniks on this town has risen to 187. Of these, the criminals killed 25 children and 54 women and elderly people. At the same time they seriously wounded 778 people. Of these 84 were children and 170 women and elderly people.

"A particularly difficult and unbearable situation is in the Vitkovici settlement. The chetniks are constantly shooting at unarmed people from Biljinska Kosa, Sutjeska, and Hripete with snipers, M-84's, and antiaircraft weapons."

Hamiz Ceronjic and Nihad Salihovic report from Brcko that "the artillery and tank shelling of the Omerbegovaca and Vranovaca region this morning was followed by a major infantry attack on Omerbegovaca. The response by our fighters was even fiercer. Having suffered major losses, the chetniks withdrew to their initial positions."

Reporting from Bihac, correspondent Mirza Sadikovic says that the "targeted by the attacks were again the defenders as well as civilian houses, especially in the Buzim and Bosanska Krupa section of the front. Dozens of mortar and howitzer projectiles landed on Buzim and the surrounding area. (?Cazin) and [word indistinct] regions were shelled from 1100 AM. According to still incomplete reports, 15 people were hit, that is, they were wounded either seriously or slightly. The attacks on the defenders on the Grmosko- Srbijanksi plateau and Grabez are not abating either. Attacks by the paramilitary formations of the rebels and traitors from Kladusa were renewed this morning."

A correspondent from northern Bosnian reports that "the fighters from (?Lukavac) crushed the enemy formations in a powerful counterattack and forced them to flee in panic. After this successful counteroffensive, the fighters from Lukavac (?captured) the strategically important elevation number 403, holiday resort [word indistinct], and the hamlet of Mihajlovici."

According to a studio announcer, the "aggressor continued attacks on the Olovo front. The defense lines and civilian houses in [words indistinct] are being subjected to artillery attacks all the time."

Reporting from the territory controlled by the 7th South Operative Group, correspondent Smail Terzic says that "today, 13 April, the aggressor attacked all the defense lines, and, as we have learned, [words indistinct] but without success. Your reporter has learned from reliable sources that there was some unrest today in temporarily [Serb] occupied Doboj, involving the civilian police and the residents of [word indistinct], who are leaving Vozuca and other places. As I report, Tesanj is quiet, but the enemy is shelling the villages of Jelak, Kalosevici, Alibegovci, Maltuzici, and Sije. Some civilians have been wounded."

A correspondent from Breza reports that "Karadzic's Serbs continued using heavy artillery to shell civilian targets in the Breza region. This has been going on continuously for three days."

More Ukrainian Peacekeepers To Arrive

AU1304072794 Paris AFP in English 0053 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] United Nations, April 12 (AFP)—Ukrainian peacekeepers are to begin arriving in Bosnia on Monday [18 April] to be deployed in Gorazde, a UN spokesman said Tuesday [12 April].

Fred Eckhard said the 550 troops will travel by different means to Sarajevo and their arrivals will be staggered.

Some 220 will fly to Bosnia between April 18 and 21, while 330 will travel by train with military equipment, Eckhard said.

He did not say when they would leave Sarajevo for Gorazde but Colin Keating, who holds the rotating Security Council presidency, said it would be as soon as possible.

Ukraine has already sent 710 peacekeepers to Bosnia and Eckhard did not rule out the possibility that additional troops could be deployed in Gorazde where there are already a dozen UN military observers.

Keating indicated that as many as 1,000 could be sent.

Silajdzic on Russia, Gorazde, UN, Embargo

NC1204205494 London MBC Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Report on a telephone interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by MBC correspondent Mu'awiyah Yasin; date not given; correspondent speaks in Arabic and Silajdzic in English—recorded]

[Text] The prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina told MBC during a telephone conversation that his country does not have sufficient influence to resist the Russian efforts aiming to halt NATO air raids against Bosnian Serbs.

Our correspondent Mu'awiyah Yasin asked Haris Silajdzic about his government's reaction to the NATO action against the Serbs.

[Silajdzic] We can get a good action but, in my opinion at least, they are being too cautious and I am afraid that they would interpret this hesitation as another green light and that a different action, a decisive action, would be much more productive.

[Yasin] If the Serbs continue to shell the city [Gorazde], what action do you expect to see?

[Silajdzic] They have been hit twice but only two, as I understood, two tanks or at most three tanks were destroyed, not enough to send a very strong message. That is a problem. I am afraid if the Serbs practically make a draw, manage a draw with the United Nations and NATO, in this case I think they will be encouraged to do many other things in Bosnia and there will be only one thing left to ask [words indistinct] to lift the arms embargo for Bosnia and let us defend our country and that has been, as you know, denied to us. To tell you the truth, we have many soldiers that killed [as heard] more than 10 Serbian tanks there and they are not very impressed with the results.

[Yasin] We know that Russia is earnestly seeking to persuade the UN Security Council to halt NATO's attacks against the Serbian positions. Is Bosnia-Herzegovina expected to launch a campaign to resist these Russian efforts?

[Silajdzic] Well, we do not have that leverage. We actually expected this action; just like in the case of Sarajevo they came in at the last minute and actually made a big diplomatic point here. They will do the same round Gorazde and they will look like a big and important player there. They are an important player but it is true that they let Serbs attack civilian areas, safe areas, and the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] for almost 15 days without any action. Now when the United Nations and NATO have acted, they want to be consulted, they want to be an equal player. This is what they are going to achieve, unfortunately.

Serbs Target Sarajevo With Grenade Launchers

AU1204151194

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 12 April carries in its regular 43-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic. Reception is poor.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps Information Service reports on the situation in Sarajevo that "since the morning the chetniks have been firing with small arms at the defense lines and the city itself. From the region of Perivoj they fired cumulative [kumulativni] grenade launchers at Vis, Dobrinja was under small arms fire all morning, while a sniper from Azici wounded a member of our army. Grenade explosions could be heard today near the FAMOS factory in Hrasnica, grenades that were fired from the direction of Vojkovici. The same weapons were used from the temporarily occupied territory of Grbavica and another of our fighters was wounded on the defense line."

Hajrudin Sermic reports on the situation in Maglaj that "the general alarm was sounded at about 1215 as the chetniks from the direction of Teslic fired six 155-mm howitzer shells at the town. The chetniks have over the last few days been intensifying their artillery and small arms fire, particularly at night, at the positions of the 201st Brigade. They have also been firing antiaircraft machine guns and snipers at the northern part of the town."

In his report from Bihac, Mirza Sadikovic says that "Karadzic's terrorists have intensified their attacks on the defense positions on the Buzim part of the front and Buzim itself, including the surrounding villages of (Cava), (Mahmici), (?Strabanda) and others. The artillery attacks are also continuing on the free Bosanska Krupa territory. The outskirts of Bihac have also been shelled, while the defense positions on Grabez and the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau are under constant artillery fire and fire from antiaircraft weapons." He says that "on top of all this, the Kladusa rebel traitors have intensified their attacks on the free Bihac territory. They have been cooperating with Karadzic's fascists on the Buzim front, and this morning launched several major infantry and artillery attacks in the region of (Pecina) in the Cazin commune."

Reporting from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "the Serbian aggressor is carrying out extensive preparations for the continuation of the chetnik offensive launched two days ago. The defense lines of the free Brcko territory are again being targeted today by enemy artillery. In attacks on our positions the aggressor is mostly using mortars and recoilless guns, while heavy fire with antiaircraft guns and machine guns is being directed at (Djukici) and (Kladje). On several occasions this morning the aggressor fired a 155-mm howitzer at residential areas inside the free territory." He says that "the

enemy has not completed the grouping of his forces. The aggressor has brought in new artillery pieces along the front line."

Mahmet Bulic reports from Lukavac that "yesterday's shelling of the defense lines seemed to have been only an introduction for today's fierce aggressor's attacks. Since early morning the Serbs have fired hundreds of mortar rounds and artillery and howitzer shells at the area. Karadzic's followers have also attempted several infantry breakthroughs but they have all failed, and the enemy has suffered great losses in manpower. And as always when the army of the so-called Srpska republic are frustrated on the front, they have turned their artillery at the civilian targets. Today they fired several howitzer shells at the town itself."

The studio announcer says that "the general alarm has been in force in Travnik since midday as the chetniks from Mt. Vlasic have been firing with howitzers." The correspondent from the town, Ahmed Begicevic then reports that "at almost the same time they started to shell the defense lines in Turbe. This small town some six kilometers from Travnik is at the moment being shelled with howitzers from (Komare) and Mt. Vlasic. At the time of filing this report, and it is now just after 1300, artillery shells are pounding Travnik and the citizens are being warned to exercise maximum caution."

Three Killed in Shelling of Usora

LD1304140694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Excerpts] The Serbs have resumed their attacks on Usora. Three people have been killed, including one child, and six civilians wounded in Serb artillery attacks on the residential areas of the free Croat community of Usora over the last 24 hours. [passage omitted]

A general alert was sounded again this morning when four shells landed on the free territory of Usora. Fortunately, there were no casualties.

Muslims Intensify Attacks on Doboj, Ozren

LD1304085594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0738 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Doboj, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—Muslim units intensified their attacks on Serb positions and residential areas in the Doboj area over the last 24 hours, the information service of the First [Bosnian Serb] Krajina Corps of the Srpska republic's army has reported.

Strong Muslim forces carried out several infantry attacks with artillery backing on the Ozren front. Ozren defenders responded efficiently forcing the attackers to withdraw.

The Muslims fiercely targeted Serb positions on the western part of the Doboj front. They fired several artillery shells on the town itself, wounding eight civilians, including five children. [passage omitted]

Inter-Muslim Fighting Resumes in Northwest

LD1204204594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 12 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Petrovac, April 12 (TANJUG)—Forces loyal to radical Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic and troops of his rival, Fikret Abdic, on Tuesday fiercely clashed in the region of the Cazin Krajina in northwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This was announced by the 5th Corps of the Moslem army loyal to Izetbegovic, which also said that Abdic's forces had launched an offensive along the entire front line and that the heaviest fighting was reported around Todorovo, Pecigrad, Skokovi, Culumak, Jabukovac and Buzim. There was no immediate information on casualties and on whether the front line had been moved.

In the autumn of 1993, Cazin Krajina Moslems voted for autonomy of their province in protest against Izetbegovic's radical policy. They favored negotiations with Serbs and Croats, with whom they subsequently signed peace agreements. Izetbegovic then ordered his troops to crush the autonomy.

Radio Velkaton in Abdic's stronghold, Velika Kladusa, reported a split between the local authorities, the command of the Bosnian Moslem 5th Corps and the Bosnian Croat command in Bihac, a town held by Izetbegovic's forces. The radio did not elaborate.

The Moslem media in the Bihac region say the commissions for prisoner exchanges of followers of Izetbegovic and Abdic have met three times in the Cazin Krajina region without any success.

Economic Prospects of Srpska Republic

94BA0237A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 94 p 14

[Article by Radovan Lazarevic: "The Factories Have Remained, the Experts Have Left"]

[Text] If it remains at least approximately in its present borders, the Srpska republic could quickly heal the wounds of war as far as its economic potential is concerned and become a moderately developed area. This assumption is not bold, but realistic, because this is an area which can more than feed itself, one that possesses an impressive stock of timber, considerably greater than the capacity of its own wood manufacturing industry, mineral wealth, sufficient power to meet its own needs, and a relatively advanced industry which by and large was not destroyed in the war. If it were not for the destructive activity of the domestic human factor and the ill will of the world's powerful toward the Srpska republic, the present hard times would quickly become the past.

Just as elsewhere in wartime, in the Srpska republic agriculture is at the moment the most productive part of the economy. And the figures themselves indicate how wrong people are who see the Srpska republic exclusively as a land of mountains, forests, and meadows. That is, no less than 97 percent of the plains in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina were in the Serbian area. The Srpska republic, at least in its present boundaries, possesses 64.3 percent of the farmland, land which produced about 80 percent of all the wheat and corn in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has even been calculated that the Srpska republic has more plowland per capita than the present Yugoslavia.

Ores in the Serbian Areas

Mineral wealth, which at one time was the principal economic potential of the former Bosnia and Herzegovina, was also largely in the Serbian section of that former Yugoslav republic. To be specific, according to the figures of the Srpska republic Chamber of Commerce, its territory accounts for 37 percent of the brown coal reserves, 35 percent of the lead and zinc reserves, 84 percent of the bauxite, 68 percent of the iron, 12 percent of the lignite, 88 percent of the gypsum, 89 percent of the quartz.... Although the Serbian side perhaps did not fare all that well in the redistribution of electric power potential in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina, even what has remained on the territory of the Srpska republic is enough to meet its needs. The installed capacity of electric power generating units on the territory of the Srpska republic amounts to 1,592 megawatts, but because most of the Drina watershed is on its territory, and this is the largest unutilized power potential in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina, the energy prospects of the Srpska republic are nevertheless favorable.

The Serbian area also includes about two-thirds of the total forest area of the former Bosnia and Herzegovina. Forests cover half of its area. The timber resources of the Srpska republic are estimated at about 214 million cubic meters.

Although the main industrial centers have remained on Muslim and Croatian territory (central Bosnia, Tuzla, Mostar), the Serbian side has not really been short-changed in this regard either. On the contrary. The Serbian areas have about 60 percent of the textile industry of the former Bosnia and Herzegovina, then 50 percent of the leather and footwear industry, 55 percent of the food manufacturing industry, most of the paper and building materials industry, all the petroleum refining (it is true that the refinery in Bosanski Brod has been considerably damaged, so that repairs would cost nearly $30 million), and, especially important, most of the electrical equipment and metal manufacturing industries are also on Serbian territory.

The Established Boundaries of the Serbian Space

Certain extremely profitable industries, like the alumina mill in Zvornik, are also on Serbian territory. According to Jefto Subotic, its manager for many years, this firm, which employs about 2,500 workers, had exports in 1990 worth $296 million, which is more than our present foreign exchange reserves. As for the plant itself, he says, it could go back into operation overnight. However, this mill, along with all the industry in the Srpska republic for that matter, is suffering from a chronic shortage of the most highly trained personnel. Bozidar Antic, chairman of the Srpska republic Chamber of Commerce, has said in a statement to the press that at the plants which are somehow operating the number of highly trained personnel is no more than 10 percent of what it was before the war.

Subotic, who in 1990 was proclaimed the best business executive in the Yugoslavia of that time (he retired six months ago), points to another phenomenon which could be a hindrance to rapid economic recovery. The SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], he says, must free itself of the role of supreme arbiter in all matters, including even the economy. In some situations it behaves for all the world like the former party committees, not stopping short of determining even who is going to work where. And while this might make some sense under these wartime conditions, if it becomes established practice, it could be disastrous for the economy when the guns go silent, Subotic warns.

All the figures given are for the territory which belongs to the Srpska republic at this moment. Whether its present borders will coincide with the final borders, whether it will be independent or in some alliances with others, these are dilemmas which no one has answered as yet.

The three-year Yugoslav war drama has nevertheless resolved one riddle: For the first time in history, Serbian space has been precisely marked off with borders. The coming months will probably answer the question of whether and when they will be under the roof of a single state. But one of our eminent economists, who for reasons of his own does not want his name in the paper, examined that Serbian territory in the light of interesting figures.

It has a population, according to his calculation, of about 12 million. And if it should turn out that all the Serbian space should become a single state community, it would be the 14th most populous country in Europe. In national income, the possible community of the Serbian lands would be larger than 14 European countries, in per capita income it would be greater than only seven countries, in per capita plowland it would be no lower than eighth place in Europe (which at the moment has 38 states), and in its energy potential, relative to its own needs, it also has a high 10th place. It is also in a high 11th place on the Old Continent for its rivers and streams, but in terms of road development it drops all the way to 27th place, and in terms of the age-specific and education-specific structure of the population it is in 20th place.

Regardless of what the future political map of the former space of Yugoslavia looks like, it is good for the Serbs to finally learn where they live and what as a people they represent on the territory of Europe.

Granic, Greek Foreign Minister Meet in Athens

LD1304115994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Report from Athens by correspondent Andjelko Perincic]

[Excerpts] Dr. Mate Granic and Karolos Papoulias, the foreign ministers of Croatia and Greece, agree that there is great scope for the comprehensive development of relations, especially economic relations, between the two countries.

Minister Granic, who arrived in Athens from Ankara this morning, had private talks for longer than expected with his counterpart and host, Papoulias. Afterwards they were joined by other members of the delegations and after the talks which are now over, and which lasted several hours, the two ministers spoke to journalists. [passage omitted]

The Croatian minister assessed that Greece could play a positive role in the peace process. This relates above all to the implementation of the Washington agreement and the inclusion of the Serbs in the negotiations on a federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The EU, currently presided over by Greece, should play a more active role in this process. [passage indistinct]

Serb Delegation Postpones Scheduled Talks

LD1104211494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] The negotiations between a Croatian delegation and representatives of the Serb authorities from the UN-protected areas, scheduled to resume tomorrow, will not materialize.

Nobody wants to make any guesses about the reasons behind the postponement of the negotiations or about a possible new date when they could take place. Slavko Degoricija, member of the Croatian delegation, said that the Croatian delegation is ready for the next round of talks and stressed that the resumption of the talks depends on the decision of the Serb representatives. Economic and social issues were to be discussed in this round of the negotiations.

Serbs Demand 'Neutral Ground'

LD1204154894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Obrenovac, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—Slobodan Jarcevic, minister for foreign affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today cited three reasons why Zagreb is not acceptable as a site for further negotiations between the RSK and Croatia.

In a statement to Obrenovac Radio, he said that the first reason is the fact that the Russian Embassy in Zagreb is too crammed, given that a delegation that would discuss possibilities of restoring economic relations should be relatively numerous since the subject of negotiations requires broader and more frequent meetings.

The second reason is that there is a great deal of pressure from the Croatian media whose headlines are full of words such as "criminals from Knin," something that clearly characterizes the atmosphere and ambience surrounding the negotiations.

Jarcevic also mentioned that representatives of the Russian Federation, some in Zagreb and some in Moscow, are openly advocating the recognition of Croatia within its AVNOJ [prewar] borders and stated that this is what Russian diplomacy will stick to.

He said that the Krajina side has pointed out that this is a kind of pressure and demanded that representatives of Russia and the United States should refrain from such statements for at least as long as the negotiations are taking place.

"Because of all this we categorically demand that the negotiations should resume on neutral ground, in a Russian Embassy in a neighboring countries. This is what we told Vitaliy Churkin, deputy minister for foreign affairs, and Kai Eide, deputy cochairman of the peace conference, who have nevertheless insisted on continuing the negotiations in Zagreb.

Asked to what extent the continuation of negotiations would depend on what has been going on around Gorazde, Jarcevic said that this could decisively influence further negotiations.

"For, it is evident that the United Nations has taken the side of one party, something we were aware of even when NATO weaponry was far from our borders," he said.

"However, we do not rule out negotiations and the mediation of Russia and the United States, although they cannot expect any concession from our side unless the Croatian side agrees to this too," Jarcevic said in conclusion.

Croat Negotiator Comments

LD1204192694 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] A meeting between a delegation of the Republic of Croatia and a delegation of the Serbs living in the UN-protected areas should have been held in Zagreb today. The meeting had been agreed upon in principle back on 29 March when the cease-fire agreement was signed. The new meeting should have been devoted to the normalization of the situation in the sphere of economy.

Despite an intervention by the mediators of the Zagreb negotiations, the Serb delegation did not come to the meeting today, probably because of the confusing situation prevailing in those areas, particularly now that they are constituting their new leadership. This was stated by

Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the Croatian delegation to negotiations with the local Serbs. He added: I would like to recall that the cease-fire agreement is only a part of a project of normalization of overall relations throughout the Republic of Croatia, not a sort of a settlement between the Republic of Croatia and the UN-protected areas. Further negotiations will refer to economic issues and the final political solution within the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Croatia. It is under these conditions and with the guarantees by the United States, Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations that we agreed to hold Zagreb negotiations and sign the agreement itself.

The Republic of Croatia is, as it has always been, interested in the resumption of negotiations leading to the complete normalization of relations and we are expressing our readiness that these negotiations could continue anywhere on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Successful Croat-Serb Cease-Fire Cooperation

LD1204153994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1429 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Knin, April 12 (TANJUG)—The republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and Croatia are successfully cooperating on the implementation of the agreement on ceasefire and troops disengagement, the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) representatives said on Tuesday.

The delegations of RSK and the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia signed the agreement to end hostilities and disengage troops in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb on March 30. The agreement has been effective since April 4.

UNPROFOR representatives in Sector South, Alan Roberts and Lieutenant Colonel Paule Sautvel, told a news conference that heavy weapons had been completely withdrawn, that the withdrawal of troops from the lines of confrontation is soon to be completed, and that the problems of the four outstanding locations will be solved by joint committees.

The deployment of U.N. peace-keepers along the line of confrontation is still in progress and Roberts and Sautvel said and their taking over is further delayed by the slow mine clearance operations [sentence as received].

The conflict between RSK and Croatia broke out in 1991 following Croatia's forcible secession from former Yugoslav federation and an attempt to reduce the status of the Serb people to that of an ethnic minority. RSK was proclaimed by Serbs in their ethnic and historical territories within the arbitrary communist-era borders of Croatia.

RSK has been U.N. protected area (UNPA) since March 1992, and UNPROFOR mandate was extended for another six months in March.

Tudjman Urges Izetbegovic To Release Prisoners

LD1204153394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] *President Tudjman has sent a letter to Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic regarding a hunger strike by Muslim prisoners in Mostar's prison. The following is the letter in its entirety:*

It was with a great deal of surprise that I received the news that 225 Bosniak-Muslim prisoners were on a hunger strike in Mostar's Heliodrom prison because of a delay in the agreement between the Bosniak-Muslim and the Croat side on their release and the simultaneous release of imprisoned Croats and members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] from prisons in Zenica and Travnik.

As far as the latter are concerned, your authorities have not given permission for them to be released because they have been put on trial for participating in the enemy army—namely, the HVO—and for not heeding their call-up notices. I maintain that such actions on the part of both sides are at odds with the Washington agreement. It is explicitly at odds with Article 3 of the joint statement signed in Geneva on 10 February 1994 by Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mate Granic, vice president of the government and minister for foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia, and General Ante Roso in his capacity as a cosignatory.

This is why I have instructed Mate Granic, vice president of the government and minister for foreign affairs, to discuss this issue with Silajdzic immediately as a matter of urgency. I hereby ask you to do your best so that the prisoners from both sides can be simultaneously released prior to my visit to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This should be done regardless of whether there are persons under investigation among the prisoners or whether they have already been sentenced, in which case we suggest they be pardoned or granted amnesty. Meanwhile, both sides should take on an obligation to carry out adequate procedures in line with jointly adopted legislation and international conventions, once peace has been restored and the new federal order established.

Mr. President, I appeal to you so we can together do everything that is needed in order to resolve as soon as possible this situation, which can only damage our efforts to implement the Washington agreement. Let this be a concrete contribution to the restoration of mutual trust in every area of our coexistence. Please receive my personal regards.

Federal

Lilic: UN 'Compromised Itself' by Air Strikes

LD1204175294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 12 (TANJUG)—The president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) Zoran Lilic assessed tuesday that by its air raids in the territory of the Bosnian Serb republic (RS) near Gorazde, the U.N. has compromised itself and become directly involved in the conflict precisely at the time when the Moslem side was militarily defeated in this area.

Lilic said this during his talks with the delegation of the Greek town Xanti headed by Mayor Filipos Amiridis, it was reported by the presidential information service.

NATO aircraft raided Bosnian Serb army positions around Gorazde on April 10 and 11, after Bosnian Serb forces crushed a Moslem offensive launched in late May [as received] from Gorazde, a U.N.-protected "safe area" which should have been demilitarized in late spring.

"The Serbs were bombed by NATO because they were exercising their right to self-defence. The goal in fact, was to prevent a military defeat of the Moslem side, to prolong the fighting and even contribute to its escalation", Lilic said.

The attack was allegedly carried out to protect the UN peacekeepers in Gorazde, though there were only 8 of them according to our information at the moment of the strikes and the clashes were taking place quite a long way away from where they were stationed. Therefore there was no question about UNPROFOR troops being in danger. The case of Gorazde is a clear misuse of the protected areas, first by the Moslems and then by the U.N. and NATO. Attacks in the Gorazde area were launched by the Moslem forces and this was known and tolerated, the Yugoslav president set out.

It is particularly surprising that, as some American media report, only 25 minutes were needed for the U.N. to give a go-ahead for the air strikes. At the same time, when we ask for UN authorisation to import medicine or any other humanitarian aid, which is not even restricted under resolution 820, days and months are needed and it is sometimes even denied, Lilic said. This points to the double standard policy pursued by the international community or a larger part of it, and particularly the U.N. which has definitely become the handyman of the powerful.

Lilic expressed his conviction that all peace-loving countries will condemn NATO and that the Security Council will have sufficient wisdom and power to return to the peace process. In this context, he stressed that Yugoslavia would continue its policy of peace but that it will know how to defend itself if necessary.

Lilic expressed his gratitude to the Greek people for the friendly support extended to the Serb people.

Xanti Mayor Amiridis regretted that during the visit of his delegation to the mother and child hospital in new Belgrade, it unfortunately witnessed the "devastating effects of the stringent embargo introduced against Yugoslavia".

Serbia

Milosevic Meets With Akashi, Condemns Strikes

LD1304121594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—This morning, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Yasushi Akashi, head of the UN mission in former Yugoslavia, and colleagues.

During the talks, which covered the latest developments in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Milosevic said that by bombing Serb positions, the United Nations has abandoned the principles of impartiality vis-a-vis the warring sides in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and openly sided with the Muslims. This has seriously brought into question the trust required for the realization of its role as mediator in the negotiating process in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Serbian president pointed to the fact that the offensive by the Muslim forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been going on for a long time now, and that Gorazde's position as a so-called safe zone, in full view of UN representatives, has been abused by the Muslim forces, allowing them to concentrate on their offensive against the Serbs.

The United Nations has neither prevented, nor hindered these attempts but, on the contrary, has supported them in terms of direct military involvement, something the Serb nation and the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina condemns energetically. In the view of President Milosevic, this behavior is not in the interest of peace but prolongs the war and intensifies instability in this region.

In President Milosevic's opinion, the only real way out of the current situation is to achieve a general agreement on the cessation of all hostilities.

A peace agreement should be reached as soon as possible without prejudging the political solution, President Milosevic stressed, pointing out his belief that the Serb side will accept new negotiations without preconditions after a cessation of all hostilities is in place. However, this can be done only on an equal footing. This means that the sanctions should be lifted. If the international community sincerely wants peace then it should respect the principle of equality. Sanctions imposed against Serbia and the Serb nation represent a constant impetus for the Bosnian authorities to continue the war. That is

why lifting the embargo is the simplest way to make the Bosnian authorities abandon their war policy.

Yasushi Akashi agreed with the assessment that an agreement on a general cessation of hostilities is better than a partial one because it ensures the best conditions for the resumption and successful conduct of political negotiations based on the principle of the equality of all three sides.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also attended the talks, the statement issued by the Serbian president's office says in conclusion.

Kosovo

Rugova Condemns Greek 'Act of Terror'

AU1204193294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] The massacre by Greek terrorists on Albanian soldiers has caused outrage among the Albanian people of Kosova, a telegram from President Rugova sent to Albanian President Dr. Sali Berisha reads.

We strongly condemn this act of terror and ask the international community to draw Greece's attention to it and condemn the insurgency of terrorist groups in the Republic of Albania, the telegram states.

We urge Greece and the Greek people—who, along with the Albanians, is the most ancient people in the Balkans—to be more reasonable and contribute to good neighborliness with the Albanians.

Both personally and in the name of the people of the Republic of Kosova, President Rugova expressed his condolences and support to the families of the deceased.

Government Says Greek, Serb Policy Coordinated

AU1204203194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Apr 94

["Statement by the government of the republic of Kosova"; place and date not given]

[Text] The Greek terrorist attack on the Albanian military barracks is one of the most grave infringements of Albania's territorial integrity and is a flagrant violation of international rights. This is not the first time that certain Greek circles—for which the Greek Government swears it has no knowledge of—have provoked the escalation of a situation of violence and tension south of Albania with the aim of destabilizing the new Albanian democracy and creating the conditions for the realization of Greater Greece aspirations.

Statements by representatives of the most nationalist clergy in the presence of Greek Government officials and the case of the Greek priest who, fairly enough, was shown his proper place, and many others culminate in the act of open terrorist attacks.

The government of Kosova expresses the outrage of its people and cannot but assess that in these actions, it sees a coordination with the Serbian policy in Kosova and Serbia's efforts to open the southern front.

On this occasion, we want to remind Greece and Serbia that any kind of attempt to open this front will be confronted with the common answer of all Albanians and all the consequences it can bring.

The government of the republic of Kosova thinks the chairman of the EC Presidency should clearly dissociate itself through concrete actions to condemn state terrorism and prevent such phenomena before they take on Balkan dimensions. The statements on a policy of good neighborliness and barbarous terrorism do not correspond to the European climate.

Reminding that our neighbor has problems with more than one country on its borders, we call on the international community, the European Union, and other organizations to examine the respect of international rights from its members and take relevant measures to preserve democratic, common European values, the statement by the government of the republic of Kosova states.

Cabinet Views NATO Attacks on Serbs

AU1204204394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] The NATO air strikes against Serb positions are the best response the world can give to justice and peace in the former Yugoslavia, as well as providing the best hope for a long-term solution to the crisis, a communique by the government of the republic of Kosova states concerning the NATO attacks.

The communique further states that experience has shown that only by destructing Serb military machinery will the aggression be prevented from sacrificing neighboring peoples and accomplishing their ambitions for Greater Serbia, because only in this way can equalibrium be attained in the Balkans and ways for an unconditional dialogue among the peoples in the region created.

On this occasion, the government of the republic of Kosova reiterates its appeal to the United Nations and NATO to undertake indispensable preventive steps in Kosova, including its demilitarization and the placement of international forces there. The communique is signed by Prime Minister Dr. Bujar Bukoshi.